THE RAUZAT-US-SAFA

OR

GARDEN OF PURITY

CONTAINING

The Histories of Prophets, Kings, and Khalifs.

BY

MUHAMMAD BIN KHÂVENDSHÂH BIN MAHMÛD

COMMONLY CALLED MIRKHOND.

PART I

VOLUME FIRST

Translated from the Original Persian

BY

E. REHATSEK,

AND CALLED BY HIM 'SACRED AND PROFANE HISTORY ACCORDING TO THE MOSLEM BELIEF'

EDITED BY

F. F. ARBUTHNOT, M.R.A.S.

IDARAH-I ADABIYAT-I DELLI

2009 QASIMJAN STREET DELHI-6

(INDIA)

IAD RELIGIO-PHILOSOPHY (REPRINT) SERIES NO. 29

First Published	1891
Reprint	1982
Price	Rs. 95.00

PRINTED IN INDIA

PUBLISHED BY MOHAMMAD AHMAD FOR IDARAH-I ADBIYAT-I DELLI, 2009, QASIMJAN ST. DELHI-6 AND PRINTED AT JAYYED PRESS, BALLIMARAN, DELHI-6.

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EDITOR'S PREFACE.

MUCH might be written on the subject of translation, and of its influence upon the progress of knowledge and civilization. The Christian religion, as it has been handed down *to us, is more or less based on translations from various* languages; while our English Bible has been more translated than any other book extant.

In former times, during the reign of Naushirwan, a Persian monarch of great renown [A.D. 530-578], there was some intercourse between Persian and Byzantine philosophers; several books on logic and medicine were translated from Greek into Persian, and later on these were done into Arabic.

At the commencement of the rule of the Abbasides [A.D. 750], considerable attention was paid to the subject. Eight years before the seventh Khalif Mâmun [A.D. 812-833] ascended the throne, many Greek and Syriac manuscripts had been collected in Baghdad. These were all preserved there in the library which was called 'The House of Wisdom,' until Mâmun began to utilize them by means of translations. A great many Oriental manuscripts are now preserved in the British Museum and other institutions in Great Britain, and it is hoped that an attempt will be made some day to get some of them translated for the benefit of the public. The Khalif Mâmun established a regular translation department, and translators were employed in doing works from the Greek, the Syriac, and the Persian into Arabic.

The great Emperor Akbar, who ruled in India from A.D. 1556 to 1605, was also much interested in this matter. Both the 'Mahabharata' and the 'Ramayana,' the Lilavati, the History of Krishna, and an erotic Kashmiri work, were by his orders translated from Sanscrit into Persian. The Commentaries of Baber from the Chaghtai, or pure Turkish dialect, and the large geographical dictionary 'Moajum-ul-buldan' from the Arabic, were both translated into Persian. In addition to the translation work, Akbar the most enlightened sovereign that India ever possessed, was a patron of every kind of literature and of art.

In England, one of the most valuable translations ever made after that of the Bible was 'The Qurân,' by George Sale, in A.D. 1734. This book has always held its own as a standard work, and the preliminary discourse, divided into eight sections, and preceding the translation of the hundred and fourteen chapters of the Qurân, contains most valuable information about the Arabs, Muhammad, and the Muhammadan religion generally. Savary, Rodwell, Palmer, and others have also produced good translations of the same work, and much facilitated its perusal by dividing the various chapters into verses, Sale not having made any such division.

Though a society was established for the encouragement of learning in England in A.D. 1736, in which Sale was interested, and of which he was one of the founders, nothing seems to have been done by this Society in the way of translation, which may, perhaps, be attributed to his death in November of that year. In A.D. 1828, however, the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland was started under very distinguished patronage. This Society worked well for fifty years, publishing translations from fifteen different languages, and then collapsing from apathy, neglect, and want of funds. It is true that some of the translations published by and at the expense of this Society were not, perhaps, all judiciously chosen; still the list of them, given in 'Arabic Authors' [Wm. Heinemann, London, 1890], shows that some at least are most valuable,

and have been of the greatest assistance to all students of Oriental literature.

The old Fund collapsed. It was proposed to revive it, and to continue the publication of a series of translations of well-selected works. Attempts were first made in the direction of donations and annual subscriptions, but failed. Thinking it a pity that the matter should be allowed to drop, on the 12th June, 1891, I addressed the following letter to the Secretary of the Royal Asiatic Society:

'I have the honour to request that you will kindly lay this letter before the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society on the subject of the old Oriental Translation Fund, and the continuance of the work undertaken by it.

'The attempt to revive the old Fund by donation and subscription has failed for want of support from the public generally. It is now proposed to endeavour to proceed with the work in the following way:

'1st. That any member of the Asiatic Society, wishing to print and publish translations of the standard works of Oriental authors, or to edit such translations done by other persons, can do so at his own expense under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society, provided that the name of the author, and of his work, be submitted to the Council of the Society for their previous sanction.

'2nd. That all such translations be printed and published uniformly [that is with the same type and bound in the same way], under the denomination of Oriental Translation Fund, New Series, and under the patronage of the Royal Asiatic Society.

'3rd. That the Translator or Editor can have these books sold or distributed at the rooms of the Asiatic Society in Albemarle Street, on such terms as may be hereafter settled.

4th. That the books so published can be advertised in the Society's Journal free of charge.

'5th. That as the Translator or Editor both prints and publishes at his own expense, he may therefore retain

the copyright of any work brought out under these proposals.

'The Council will perceive that the above is a rough sketch only of what can be afterwards improved or modified. For the present I would only ask the Council:

'1st. To sanction generally these proposals.

'2nd. To appoint a permanent Committee to settle details about the type, size of the volume, nature of the binding, etc., and other matters connected with these proposals, and to whom all proposals connected with publication should be referred.

'3rd. To sanction my beginning the series at once with the publication of a complete translation by Mr. E. Rehatsek of the first part of Mirkhond's "Rauzat-us-safa," generally called "The Garden of Purity," containing the Histories of Prophets, Kings and Khalifs. This work is now ready for the press, and will fill three volumes of, say, three to four hundred pages each.

'It is advisable to start the printing and the publishing of these volumes as soon as possible, to show that the members of the Royal Asiatic Society are anxious to give the undertaking at all events a trial. The proposals will cost the Society nothing except the use of their name and patronage, while any expenses incurred by the Society will be defrayed by their deducting a percentage from the receipts of the sale of these works.'

On the 29th of June, 1891, the Council of the Royal Asiatic Society were good enough to sanction the above proposals. A Committee was appointed to settle certain details, and the publication of the present volume is the commencement of the undertaking. It is proposed to publish in six volumes the whole of the two first parts of Mirkhond's History, details of which will be found both in the Translator's and Author's Prefaces.

Of Mirkhond himself it may be briefly stated that he was born in A.D. 1432, and belonged to a family of Sayyids settled for many generations in Bukhara. His father Sayid

Burhan-ud-Din Khâvend Shâh, a man of great learning and piety, left that place for Balkh, where he died. Mirkhond himself spent most of his life in Hirat writing his book, and died there A.D. 1498 at the age of sixty-six. His lengthy work is one of the standard Persian histories, and the manuscripts of it, both whole and in part, are numerous in the British Museum and the Bodleian Library at Oxford and elsewhere. Dr Rieu's excellent catalogue of the Persian manuscripts in the former place, and Professors Sachau and Ethe's list of Persian and other manuscripts in the latter place, give full information about them.

The present volume, not hitherto translated into any European language, contains the Moslem version of our Bible stories, beginning with the creation of Genii before Adam and ending with the death of Aaron. To prevent the repetition of such phrases as 'whose name be exalted,' 'whose name be praised,' 'upon whom blessing,' 'benediction and salutation to him,' 'may his soul be sanctified,' 'the mercy of Allah be on him,' generally used after names in Moslem literature, the first letters of the words of these sentences only have been inserted, so that these will be easily understood. The chapters and verses of many quotations from the Qurân, and of allusions to many matters in our Bible, will be found in the footnotes.

As regards the Bible and the Qurân, both the Christian and the Muhammadan stand on the same ground. In each religion the really orthodox believer is of opinion (and this opinion does not allow a single matter of doubt) that the Book he believes in is inspired, and contains the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth from beginning to end. While the Bible gives us the Jewish and Christian view of these matters, the Qurân gives us the Muhammadan view, and though some of the stories will be found to be exactly alike, Moslem tradition often enters into far greater details than those given in the Old Testament. It is both possible and probable that when Muhammad first began his career as a reformer, preacher and apostle, he was buoyed up with the hope that he might bring both the

Jews and Christians into his fold. On this account he introduced into his Qurân so many of the persons mentioned both in the Old and New Testaments, along with many details obtained from Rabbinical and Christian sources. Later on at Madinah; when he found that he could do nothing with the infidels, as he then called them, he seems to have adapted his religion to the manners and customs of the Arabs. As, however, full details of his life will be given in the fourth and fifth volumes of this series, it is unnecessary to make further allusion to the matter here.

The translator of these volumes, Mr. Edward Rehatsek, of Bombay, is well known for his knowledge of Oriental languages and Oriental literature A short sketch of his career was given in the preface to 'Persian Portraits' (Quaritch, 1887), but this hardly did justice to his general ability and his exceeding great industry. These will, however, be better understood after a perusal of the present work, and of others which will follow to complete his series of translations from the Persian and the Arabic. He is now an old man, but his declining years will be solaced with the thought that his labours have at last been fully recognised and laid before the public in a fitting and becoming manner. It remains, then, for the public to do their duty, which is to purchase, as they come out, the copies of these volumes of translations, and which are to be obtained at the rooms of the Royal Asiatic Society, 22, Albemarle Street.

F. F. ARBUTHNOT.

18, Park Lane,
London, W.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

THE reason why Europeans generally obtain no correct perception of the religion and early history of the Muhammadans must chiefly be attributed to the means by which they become acquainted with them; namely, to books written from a European standpoint of civilization and religious view, in a manner not impartial, but generally offensive to Moslems, and therefore attributed by them to a spirit of infidelity, which taints, according to their opinion, more or less, the sentiments of all writers on these subjects who are not themselves Moslems. It is, of course, natural that European authors are biassed by their own associations, and Muhammadans by theirs. The latter have likewise been much influenced by the religious opinions which in most instances guided them, and made them partial in the composition of their early historical and religious works to such an extent that they neither sought nor used, but deliberately and obstinately rejected, all information not in conformity with the Qurân, which is, according to them, a revelation from God, and to differ therefrom makes any man an infidel. Hence the perusal of a work of this kind, and of very great authority among the professors of Islâm, composed by a celebrated Persian Muhammadan author on the principle of exclusion just alluded to is calculated to impart to the reader a far superior and more accurate knowledge of what Moslems believe to be true than any book of European origin possibly could do.

It is certain that he who desires to obtain some knowledge of the genius of Islâm, and wishes to see with

Moslem eyes, ought not to be satisfied with the perusal of books written by unbelievers in a spirit of unbelief, but must endeavour to gain access to information destined for Moslems, and enshrined in their own authors. A perception of this desideratum has resulted in the production of the work now before the reader.

Scriptural history among the professors of Islâm agrees in some respects with Biblical accounts, but is in others totally different, as will abundantly appear in this work. These points of contact and of discrepancy may also be ascertained in detail by anyone willing to collate the Christian with the Muhammadan standard of religion. The Qurân is the origin and source of all sacred and profane history among Moslems. It may, indeed, be explained and amplified by tradition, but on no account contradicted, under pain of incurring the stigma of infidelity, it is by all Muhammadans believed to be a divine revelation, but promulgated by a human being—Muhammad, the apostle of Allah. Apart from opinions about the divine element—there being already too many published on all sides of the question—something may be mentioned in this place about the human element in connection with the Christian doctrines alluded to in the Qurân. The prophet was on very familiar and good terms with Warakah Bin Nowfil, the Christian cousin of his first wife Khodayjah, who is on all hands admitted to have been a man of some learning and intellect. This individual Muhammad consulted after the first chapter of the Qurân (in the present order the ninety-sixth, 'Congealed blood,' etc.) had been revealed to him, and Warakah, struck more than ever by the character of Muhammad, with whom he had been associated often and intimately, predicted that he would become the prophet of the Arabs. This much we gather from Muhammadan authors. It is likewise certain that during the conciliatory policy followed by the prophet in the beginning of his career, his intercourse with both the Christians and the Jews was of a friendly nature,*

* Qurân, ch. ii. 59, 'Surely those who believe, and those who Judaize and Christians and Sabians, whoever believeth in Allah and the last

although in course of time, when he had become powerful, he accused them of having falsified the Old and the New Testament.* The Muhammadans possess not only their *own narratives about the principal persons mentioned* in the Bible, but they also believe that the number of prophets† amounts to many thousands. They possess accounts of Abraham, of Moses, of David, of Joseph, and even of our Lord Jesus, as will be seen during the course of this work; but, as already observed, all are dealt with according to Muhammadan views, discarding Christian sources of information. Sharastani and others have given accounts of the various religions of the world, and among them also those of Christianity and Judaism. The elaborate and voluminous treatises of the Muhammadans on theology and tradition could not, however, altogether disregard the two religions which their prophet claims to have superseded by his own, and the following notice concerning the tenets of the Jews and Christians, translated from a small Arabic work of the fourteenth century, the original of which was published at Calcutta in the 'Bibliotheca Indica,' vol. vi., No. 21, 1849, will show the views generally entertained by Moslems about them:

'As to the Jews, they are divided into many sects, the principal of which are the Rabbani, the Sâmari, and the Qarravi, who agree on the prophetship of Moses, of Aaron, and of Joshua, upon whom be blessing and peace; and on the Torah [Pentateuch] and its commandments, though *its copies are changed and differ*; but they extract from it six hundred and thirteen ordinances, according to which they worship. The Rabbani and Qarravi differ from the

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day, and doth what is right, they shall have their reward with their Lord.' These words are repeated also in ch. v. But such passages are abrogated by others of a contrary purport.

* For instance Qurân, ch. v. 16, 'They dislocate the words (of the Pentateuch) from their places, and have forgotten part of what they were admonished, and thou wilt not cease to discover deceitful practices among them.'

† 'As He spake by the mouth of his holy Prophets; which have been since the world began.'

Sâmari, inasmuch as they acknowledge other prophets besides the ones just mentioned, from whom they take nineteen books, which they add to the five books of the Torah. They consider twenty-four books to be prophetical, and divide them into four sections. The first is the Torah, which consists of five books. In the first the beginning of the creation and history from Adam to Joseph—upon whom be blessing and peace—are recorded. In the second the enslaving of the Israelites by the Egyptians, the coming of Moses, u. w. bl. a. p., the destruction of Pharaoh, the establishment of the ark of the covenant, the events in the wilderness, the Emamship of Aaron, u. w. bl. a. p., the promulgation of the decalogue, and the hearing by the people of the words of Allah the Most High, are related. The third book contains a summary of the commandments. The fourth the number of the people, the distribution of the land to them, the circumstances of the envoys sent by Moses to Syria, the history of the [falling of] Mannah, the quails, and of the cloud. The fifth contains the numbers of the commandments of the Torah to elucidate the summary account; it also records the decease of Aaron and of Moses, and the succession of Joshua, u. w. bl. a. p.

'The second section is divided into four books, the first of which is that of Joshua, where the cessation of the Mannah, and their eating of the fruits of the earth after the celebration of the sacrifice, the war of Joshua with the Canaanites, his conquering the country, and dividing it by casting lots, are recorded. The second is known as the book of Judges, and contains their history, with that of the children of Israel during the period of the first temple. The third is of Samuel, u. w. bl. a. p.; it contains the prophecy and government of Talût [Saul], the story of David's killing of Jalût [Goliath]; and the fourth is known as the book of Kings, which contains the history of the Kings David and Solomon, u. w. bl. a. p., and of others; the division of the kingdom among the tribes, the wars, the first emigration, the advent of Nebuchadnezzar, and the demolition of the holy temple.

'The third section contains four books, called "The Last." The first of them is Isaiah, u. w. bl. a. p., in which the threats of Allah the Most High to the children of Israel are recorded, as also what is to happen in the future; good news to the patient are promulgated, as well as an allusion to the second temple on the delivery [from captivity] by means of King Cyrus. The second is by Jeremiah u. w. bl. a. p., and mentions the total destruction of the temple, with the emigration to Egypt. The third is Ezechiel, u. w. bl. a. p.; it contains natural, astronomical, and mystic wisdom, the description of the temple, with the history of Gog and Magog. The fourth consists of twelve books, with forebodings of wars and earthquakes, as well as of other things; it points to what is expected to happen, as also to the resurrection; it records the prophecy of Jonah, u. w. bl. a. p, his drowning and being swallowed by the whale; the repentance of the people, and the advent of the enemy [at Nineveh and its subversion]; the prayer of Habakkuk, and the prophecy of Zecharias, u. w. bl. a. p; an allusion to the great day [of judgment], and the glad tidings of the coming of Khizer, u. w. bl. a. p.

'The fourth section is called "The Books," and contains four of them. The first contains the history of Adam up to the second temple, the establishment of the tribes and of the nations of the world. The second, the Psalms of David, u. w. bl. a. p., which amount to the number of one hundred and fifty, and consist partly of requests and partly of prayers about Moses, u. w. bl. a. p., and others. The third contains the story of Job, u. w. bl. a. p., with rhetorical disputations. The fourth has wise parables of Solomon, u. w. bl. a. p. The fifth, the history of sages before the kings. The sixth contains Hebrew songs of Solomon, u. w. bl. a. p., and dialogues between the soul and the intellect. The seventh is called "The Collection of the Wisdom of Solomon," u. w. bl. a. p.; it consists of exhortations to seek intellectual joys, which are lasting, and to scorn sensual ones, which are perishable; praises of Allah, the Most High, and admonitions concerning Him.

The eighth is called "The Lamentations of Jeremiah," u. w. bl. a. p., and is *divided into* five chapters according to the alphabetical letters marked with diacritical points, *and contains* threnodies on the temple. The ninth is about King Ardeshir and A'b-un-nûr. The tenth is of Daniel, u. w. bl. a. p., and contains the interpretation of the dreams of Nebuchadnezzar and of his son; mysteries to happen in the world, and predictions about the resurrection *and the day of judgment.* The eleventh is of O'zair [Ezra], u. w. bl. a. p; it contains the description of the people's return from the land of Babel [Babylon] to the second temple and its building.

'The Rabbani Jews differ from other sects in the explanation of the ordinances of the Torah, and they derive the details thereof from Moses, u. w. bl. a. p.

'*As to the Christians*, their sects are also numerous, the three principal ones of them, however, are—the Melikites, the Jacobites, and the Nestorians. All agree that Allah, the Most High, is one in nature, *i.e* in essence, but three in personality, *i.e.* in qualities. The meaning of person is "individual quality," and they consider these persons to be the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. By the Father they mean the essence with the existence, by the Son, the essence with the knowledge, they also call him "the word," and define him as "the union", by the Holy Ghost they mean "the essence with the life" Yahia Bin A'dy has philosophically, but contrary to their opinions, explained these persons by "the intellect, the intelligent, and the intelligible" This they reject, and *believe that* the Messiah was born by Mary, slain, and crucified Three hundred and seventeen of their elders assembled in the presence of the Emperor of Constantinople, and composed the articles of religion, which they surnamed "The [Confession of] Faith." This, as well as the creed of the Christian religion, they took from the Injil [Evangel], which they possess, and which is the history of the Messiah, u. w. *bl* a. p. It was collected by four of his companions, namely: Matâ, Lûqá Mârqûs, and

Yohanna. The word Injil means "glad tidings." They have also a book known as "The Canons," which is composed by their elders, and resorted to in the details of worship, in transactions and the like. They use the Psalms as prayers.

'The Melikites stand alone in their assertion that a portion of the Deity has for our sake assumed humanity, become one with the body of the Messiah, and incarnate therein. They do not call "the knowledge" before its incarnation "the Son," but "the Messiah," although the Son became incarnate. They believe that "the word" commingled with the body, as wine mixes with water and milk. They state that the nature of the three persons is different; they believe in their Trinity, and are alluded to in the words of the Most High: "They are certainly infidels who say Allah is the third of the three."* They assert that the Messiah was wholly, and not partly, human, and that the killing and crucifixion befell humanity, but not Deity.

'The Jacobites are distinguished by their maintaining the Deity of the Messiah, u. w. bl. a. p. They assert that "the word" was changed into flesh and blood, and became the Messiah; that he is God and manifest in the flesh. To them the Most High alludes in the words: "They are infidels who say, Verily, God is Christ, the son of Mary."† They believe that "the word" was united to a part, but not to the whole of the man, they believe that the Messiah has one nature, and one person, but that he partakes of two natures, whereby they perhaps mean that his temperament is composed of two temperaments.

'The Nestorians are discerned by their dogma that the Deity shone upon humanity as the sun shines on crystal, and appeared in it as the appearance of the sun on a signet ring. Some of them assert that the coming down of the Deity into humanity is the descent of the grandeur and dignity, which were most complete and perfect in the humanity of the Messiah above anything else. They agree

* Qurân, ch. v. 77. † *Ibid.*, ch. v. 19.

with the Melikites that the Messiah was slain and crucified on account of his manhood, and not on account of his Godhood; by the former his body, and by the latter his soul, is meant. O Allah Most High! protect us from the great blasphemies which oppressors and infidels utter. Praise be to Allah, who has bestowed on us Islâm, and has guided us by his prophet Muhammad, upon whom be the most excellent blessings and peace.'

It is natural that Muhammadan authors drew their notions of Christianity from the Eastern sects they came in contact with, as they knew nothing about the Western ones; and such was much more the case in earlier than in later times. Even then, however, all Christian sects professed to consider the Bible to be the chief source and standard of their religion, just as the Moslems regard the Qurân to be the basis of their faith. But for all that, how many Christian sects both did, and still do, anathematize each other, while the Muhammadans do much the same. The Bible has been variously explained, and so has the Qurân, and this has not ceased even in our own times after many centuries of controversy. All human things are mutable, and so are creeds. Traditions which have in course of time acquired much authority, must in great measure be held responsible for the changes gradually taking place in the tenets of various sects, and even for the rise of new ones. As Christian tradition has in various matters departed from the Bible,* so has Muhammadan

* As an instance of this, the doctrine of the Trinity may be mentioned. The Old Testament is entirely monotheistic, while in the New Testament there is no passage directly alluding to the Trinity but one, and that is First Epistle of John, ch. v. 7: 'There are three that bear record in heaven, The Father, The Word, and The Holy Ghost, and these three are one. This verse has, however, been proved by the works of Newton, Gibbon, Porson, and others to have been an interpolation, and Calmet himself acknowledges that it is not to be found in any copy of the Bible. The Committee of the Revised Translation of our Scriptures (1885) have, moreover, expunged this passage, or rather verse, giving as their reason that it could not be honestly left in. As is well known, Gibbon in his 'Roman Empire' gives full details of the controversy concerning the Trinity, its origin and progress, when the term was first used, and its final establishment by the Councils of Nice and Constantinople, A.D. 325 and 381. —EDITOR.

tradition departed from the Qurân; one of these last it will not be out of place to adduce here as an example. According to tradition, Moslems believe that their prophet worked miracles—some of which will be related in detail during the course of this work under the 'Life of Muhammad'—whereas it appears from the Qurân that he claimed no such power. To show this, the following passages may be quoted:

'Nothing hindered us from sending [thee] with miracles except that the former [nations] have charged them with imposture.'*

'They say, unless a sign be sent unto him from his Lord [we will not believe]. Answer: Signs are in the power of Allah alone, and I am [no more than] a public preacher.'† 'And they say: We will by no means believe on thee, until thou cause a spring of water to gush forth for us out of the earth; or to have a garden of palm trees, or of vines, and thou cause rivers to spring forth from the midst thereof in abundance, or thou cause the heavens to fall down upon us—as thou hast given out—in pieces, or thou bring down Allah and the angels to vouch [for thee]; or thou have a house of gold or thou ascend by a ladder to heaven: neither will they believe thy ascending [thither alone] until thou cause a book to descend to us [bearing witness of thee] which we may read. Answer: My Lord be praised! am I other than a man, sent as an apostle?'‡ 'The infidels say: Unless some sign be sent down unto him from the Lord [we will not believe]. Answer. Verily Allah is able to send down a sign, but the greater part of them know it not.'§ That which ye desire to be hastened is not in my power: judgment [belongeth] only to Allah, He will determine the truth, and He is the best discerner.'‖ 'They have sworn by Allah the most solemn oath, that if a sign came unto them they would certainly believe therein. Say: Verily signs are in the power of Allah alone, and He

* Qurân, ch. xvii. 61.
† *Ibid.*, ch. xxix. 49.
‡ *Ibid.*, ch. xvii. 93 to 96.
§ *Ibid.*, ch. vi. 37.
‖ *Ibid.*, ch. vi. 57.

permitteth you not to understand that when they come they will not believe.'*

Besides the discrepancies between the accounts of the Bible and the Qurân, there are numerous historical events of early times which are represented differently by occidental and by oriental authors. All ancient history is initially based on oral traditions, much more than on written documents, which have followed them later. In those written accounts Muhammadan writers, even whilst they sometimes differ from each other, may be said to run in a kind of parallel grooves amongst themselves, and to be utterly at variance with European authors, who on their part displayed in early times a lamentable ignorance of, and culpable indifference towards, Eastern history. Thus, for instance, the ancient Persians had a series of kings about whom the Greek historians knew next to nothing, and the names of those they did mention they distorted in such a way as to make them almost unrecognisable. With the names of cities they dealt even more arbitrarily, and seemed to change every name they met with, or adapt it to their own pronunciation. On the other hand, all the oriental accounts about Alexander the Great, whose name is changed by them to Eskander, must be set down as purely mythical. We find that Firdausi (who died A.D. 1030), and Nizami (who died A.D. 1180), as also several other Persian poets and historians, make Alexander the Great a son of the Persian King Darius, by a daughter of the Macedonian Philip, while occidental authors are entirely reticent on this point. Such discrepancies will, of course, appear in this work in a stronger light than in the present remarks, but they are worthy of interest, and the more so as steam and electricity are now causing the West and the East to merge into close contact, so that they ought to become better acquainted with each other historically, politically, and socially.

* Qurân, ch. vi. 109. With reference to this verse Sale, and after him Rodwell, observes in his translation of the Qurân that in it Muhammad endeavours to excuse his inability to work miracles.

A history, then, composed by an oriental author, and written in the spirit of Muhammadanism, ought to be considered as a valuable contribution tending to promote a better acquaintance with the Eastern Moslem world. No work of this kind is more popular or more highly esteemed than the '*Rauzat-us-safa fi sirat-ulambiâ va ulmulûk va ulkhulfâ*,' generally called 'The Garden of Purity, containing the Histories of Prophets, Kings and Khalífs.' The word 'Rauzat' means literally a garden but usage has in all Muhammadan countries, as well as in India, assigned to it the signification of a *mausoleum* surrounded by a garden or park.* The word 'safa' is a plural, meaning pure, holy, and by extension illustrious. Hence the more correct translation of the above title would be as follows: 'Mausoleum of Illustrious Men, containing the Biographies of Prophets, Kings and Khalifs.' The author is known by the name of Muhammad Bin Khâvendshah Bin Mahmûd, but more familiarly and simply as Mirkhond. He died A.H. 903, A.D. 1498, and the patron by whose order he composed this work was A'li Shir, the Amir of Hirât.

The Rauzat-us-safa is so voluminous that only some portions of it have as yet been translated, although as early as A.D. 1662 historical accounts from it were given in a book called 'Les états et principautés du monde,' first in a French, afterwards in an Italian, and lastly in an English translation by Stevens in A.D. 1715. This rich mine of historical and of religious lore has, however, afterwards been gradually, though as yet only partially, explored in fourteen European works by authors of various nationalities, as will appear from the following list:

'Historia priorum regum Persarum post firmatum in regno Islamismum. Ex Mohammade Mirchond. Persice et Latino cum notis geographicis et literariis. Vienna, 1780, 4to.'

* Gayangos observes that the word 'Rauzat' is often considered synonymous with mausoleum. In Makarri's 'History of the Muhammadan Dynasties of Spain' (translated by Gayangos for the old Oriental Translation Fund), vol. i., p. 486, 'Used in Adh-dhobi and elsewhere for a burying-ground.'

'Mémoires sur diverses antiquités de la Perse et sur les médailles des rois de la dynastie des Sassanides, suivis de l'histoire de cette dynastie. Traduction du Persan de Mirchond par Silvestre de Sacy. Paris, 1793, 4to.'

'Mohammedi filii Chavendschahi vulgo Mirchondi historia Samanidarum, persice e codice bibliothecæ regiæ Hannoveranæ nunc primum edidit interpretatione latina, annotationibus historicis et indicibus illustravit. Fr. Wilken. Gottingæ, 1804, 4to.'

'Notice sur l'histoire universelle de Mirchond intitulée le jardin de la pureté, suivie de l'histoire de la dynastie des Ismaeliens de Perse, extraite du même ouvrage en persan et en français, par M. A. Jourdain. Paris, 1812, 4to.'

'Mirchondi historia Jaheridarum, historicis notis incognitorum Persiæ principum, persice et latine edidit. E. Mitscherlich, Gottingæ, 1814, 8vo ed, da Berlini, 1819, 8vo.

'Mirchondi historia Ghuridarum, regum Persiæ Indiæque, atque Carachitarum imperatorum Tartariæ. E libris manuscriptis persice et latine edidit et annotavit Dr E. Mitscherlich. Francofurti ad Moenum, 1818, 8vo'

'History of the early kings of Persia from Kaimars, the first of the Peshdadian dynasty to the conquest of Iran by Alexander the Great Translated from the original Persian of Mirhhond, entitled the 'Rauzat-us-safa,' with notes and illustrations by David Shea London, 1832, 8vo.'

'Mohammedi filii Chondschahi vulgo Mirchondi historia Ghasnavidarum Persice E codicibus Berolinensibus aliisque nunc primum edidit, lectionis varietate instruxit, latine vertit, annotationibus historicis illustravit Fredericus Wilken Berolini, 1831, 1 vol, 4to'

'Geschichte der Sultane aus dem Geschlechte Bujeh, persisch und deutsch Von Friedr Wilken Berlin, 1835, 4to.'

'Erlauterung und Erganzung eineger Stellen der von Mirchond verfassten Geschichte des Stammes Buwieh durch Franz von Erdmann Kasan, 1836, 8vo.'

'Mirkhondi historia Seldschukidarum persice e codicibus manuscriptis Parasino et Berolinersi nunc primum edidit, lectionis varietate instruxit, annotationibus philologicis et criticis illustravit Joannes Augustus Vullers, Phil. Doct. litt. orient. in academia Ludoviciana Gissiensi P.P.O. Societates Asiaticæ Parisiensis sodalis. Gissæ, 1837, 8vo.'

'Mirkhond's Geschichte der Seldschuken aus dem persischen zum erstenmal ubersetzt mit historischen, geographischen und literarischen Anmerkungen erläutert Von Dr Johann August Vullers, Professor der morganländischen Sprachen und Litteratur und der Universität Giessen. Mitglied der asiat. Ges zu Paris. Mit einer Geschlechtstafel und einem Sachregister. Giessen, 1838, 8vo.'

'Vie de Djenghiz-Khan par Mirkhond (text persan), à l'usage des élèves de l'école spéciale des langues orientales, par M. Defrémery. Paris, 1845, 8vo.'

'The history of the Atabeks of Syria and Persia, by Muhammad Bin Khâvendshâh Bin Mahmûd, commonly called Mirkhond Now first edited from the collation of sixteen MSS. by W. H Morley, to which is added a series of facsimiles of the coins struck by the Atabeks, arranged and described by W. S W. Vaux London, 1850, 8vo.'

The present work will be an addition to the above list, under the title of 'Prophets and Kings, or, Sacred and Profane History according to the Moslem Belief' The first part will extend from the creation of genii and men till the extinction of the Sassanian dynasty under Yazdijard. It will be a complete translation of the first volume of the 'Rauzat-us-safa,' omitting only the portion translated by David Shea, and mentioned in the list given above The second part will contain the life of Muhammad, translated from the first portion of the second volume of the 'Rauzat-us safa,' with an appendix on his wives, concubines, children, amanuenses, almsgatherers, servants, freed men and women, translated from the 'Habib-us-siar' of Khondemir, the son of the author of the 'Rauzat-us-safa.'

The Persian copy used in the production of the 'Prophets and Kings' was lithographed in Bombay $\frac{\text{A.H. } 1271}{\text{A.D. } 1854}$, and has been faithfully rendered into English by the translator. The names Jebrail, Yusuf, I'sa, Mûsa, Habil, Qabil, and many others, have been retained, and their English equivalents, Gabriel, Joseph, Jesus, Moses, Abel, and Cain, have been added in brackets only when necessary. The detailed table of contents will enable the reader to find any person or subject he may require. In the footnotes references are given to the passages quoted from the Qurân in the text.

E. Rehatsek.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

IN THE NAME OF ALLAH THE MERCIFUL, THE CLEMENT!

THE ornament of the introduction to the chronicle containing the biographies of prophets of exalted station, and the decoration of the preface to the collection of the memorable deeds of powerful sovereigns, is gratitude to the *Universal Benefactor*, on the spread table of whose bounty the marvels of the visible creation are displayed; and the emanations of the *Fountain of life* are a rhetorical goblet[1] from the ocean of His favours, the eloquent utterances whereof cannot be adequately interpreted by the greatest sages of the world, *the Eternal*, without whose adoration and praise annals cannot be commenced, and without the mention of whose exalted attributes the chronicles of antiquity cannot be arranged.

The vicissitudes of royal dynasties are a convincing proof of the perpetuity of *His* sovereignty, and the changes of fortune to which kings are subject are evident signs of *His* omnipotence. He placed 'one who will do evil therein'[2] by *His* abundant goodness and mercy on the seat of glory and throne of successorship [by creating man] according to the verse, 'I am going to place a substitute on earth,'[3] and flung the seraph of the highest heavens to manifest *His* glory from the throne of honour down into the abyss of misery [saying]: 'Get thee therefore hence, for thou shalt be driven away with stones.'[4]

[1] However awkward this figure of speech may seem to be, it is still in use among orientals, and is derived from the divining cup of the ancient Persian King Jemshid. In Gen. xliv. 5 we read: 'Is not this it (*i.e.* the cup) in which my lord drinketh, and whereby indeed he divineth?'

[2] Qurân, ch. ii. 28. [3] *Ibid.*, ch. ii. 28. [4] *Ibid.*, ch. xv. 34.

The *Bountiful* who has ennobled men—'Verily we have favoured the sons of Adam'[5]—has made them happy in the world—'by possession, and by establishing you therein'[6]—who has exalted the victorious standards of kings to the highest pinnacles of dominion, and has made the blades of those who combat for religion the reflectors of victory. The *Predestinator* who stands in no need of instruments or aids in the creation and perfection of existing things. The *Fashioner* who has depicted the effects of *His* bounty on all forms [saying]: 'Verily we have created man of a most excellent fabric'[7]—in perfect beauty as an evident miracle 'he has formed you and made your forms beautiful.'[8]

The creator of men and genii
All *was*, when He said · *be*.
His bounty and liberality ennobled man
With the nobility of intellect, virtue and existence.

Glory be to the *Sage*, who, when He had perfected His work by the creation of intelligent beings, adorned in His supreme wisdom the heavens with assemblies of saints and angels, and ornamented the centre of the circle of existence by calling into being human creatures, containing in themselves the germs of good and of evil These were accounted to belong to the second class of rational beings, and were, according to the manifestations of their innate capacities and their original differences, divided into various races But as not every member of the human species was, by his own efforts, able to fathom his exalted origin, to attain a knowledge of the Deity, to reach the object of his desires, and under the guidance of reason alone, which is beset with doubts, to walk in the paths of righteousness, and thus ultimately to participate in heavenly bliss, the *Omnipotent Director*—may His attributes be praised, and His gifts be appreciated—has raised up from their own kind exalted prophets and inspired messengers, endued with purity and wisdom, to guide those who have gone astray in the vale of aberration, and those who are thirsty into the paths of orthodoxy, and to the fountain of Divine grace.

[5] Qurân, ch. xvii 73
[6] *Ibid.*, ch. xi. 64
[7] *Ibid.*, ch. xcv 4.
[8] *Ibid.*, ch. xl. 66.

Prophets succeeded each other during many ages until the sun of apostleship rose in Battha,[9] and the great prophetic light began powerfully to radiate from Mekkah; namely, until his lordship, the prince of saints, the support of the poor, the medium of the mysteries of the invisible world, the conveyer of the tidings of absolute certainty, the firstfruit of the garden of existences, the index and model of created beings, the sovereign utterer of the announcement. 'I have with Allah'[10] appeared, who was honoured with the words, 'May Allah forgive thee,'[11] He who is the altar of the lamp of prophecy and of Emamship, the confidant of the mansion of proximity, honour, and intimacy, the sun of the firmament (according to the saying), 'I walked on earth, and beheld the east and the west thereof,'[12] the elected Mekkanican, the chosen Madinian, the Quraishian director, the Hashemite guide, the jewel of the family of Lowa, the son of Ghâleb, Muhammad the son of Abdullah, son of Abdul nutallab (may the blessing of Allah and peace be upon him and on his family), the herald who conveyed the words, 'I was a prophet and a man between water and loam'[13] to the denizens of heaven and earth, and who promulgated the invitation, 'I am sent to the black and to the red,'[14] to the terrestrial and to the celestial world; the chieftain, the light of whose augus forehead was the origin of all creatures. 'The first of what Allah created was light.'[15] He whose propitious advent entailed the promulgation of His sublime laws, 'the apostle of Allah and the seal of the prophets,'[16] the prince whose sanguinary lance terrified the warriors of the [tribes] Rabi'h and Madhar, and the fear of the sharpness of whose fire-shedding scimitar conveyed the thirsty souls of the Beni

[9] This is the name of Muhammad's birthplace in Mekkah itself.
[10] A saying of Muhammad, the whole of which is as follows: 'I have with Allah a time in which neither a cherub nor an inspired prophet can equal me.'
[11] Qurân, ch. xlviii.
[12] Hadith Quds, or 'Sacred Tradition,' of which the full statement is as follows: 'I walked on earth and beheld the east and the west thereof; but I have seen no man more excellent than Muhammad.'
[13] Hadith Quds, or 'Sacred Tradition.'
[14] *Ibid.* [15] *Ibid.* [16] *Ibid.*

Ghâleb to the fountain of certainty and to the mansion of the righteous; the prophet, the convincing miracles of whose power will for all time to come survive among the nations, and the evident signs of His acts will subsist for ever and ever. The exalted personage who rose during the night of the Ascension to the highest heavens, and overshadowed the denizens of the sacred regions with the wings of his kindness and favour; the royal cavalier who, when he departed from that locality, continued to instruct mankind. In the spaces he traversed, the dust of his Borâq's[17] hoofs is esteemed of equal value with the diadems adorning the heads of the nobles of the upper world. He is the sovereign, the dust of whose blessed sandals is deservedly the collyrium of the eyes of mortal men:

Distich: When he was on earth he was the Qiblah of heavenly spirits,
In heaven he is the refuge of mankind.

O Allah! Bless Muhammad, his family, progeny, companions and people, with blessings that will not terminate for ever, and will endure as long as time lasts! Constant, blessed and abundant salutations to Him and to them!

But after [this preliminary, the following statement is made]: The author of these pages, the most despicable servant of God, Muhammad the son of Khâvand Shâh, son of Mahmûd—may the Most High pardon his transgressions—speaks as follows: In the midst of the vernal season of youth, which is the best and most pleasant epoch of life, his weak mind and imbecile talents were devoted to the study of historical works, comprising information about the affairs of the inhabitants of the world, and the fortunes of various nations, and whenever other avocations that engaged his attention admitted, he applied himself with the greatest eagerness to the study of ancient chronicles and traditions; he also occasionally delivered lectures to noble and learned personages, which were greatly applauded.

[17] This is the name of the supernatural quadruped which came to fetch Muhammad for his *Ascension*, and on which he performed that miraculous journey. See 'Picture and Description of Boraq,' by E. Rehatsek, in the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, 1881, vol. xvi., pp. 1-25

Meanwhile a number of chosen spirits,[18] adorned with the decorations of virtue and sincerity, requested, and even enjoined, him from time to time to compose a work embracing the great achievements of the apostle [Muhammad], the prophets, kings, and khalifahs, for the perusal of sovereigns and the pastime of grandees. But despite of his readiness to comply with the wishes of his incomparable friends, he was hindered by his poverty, obscurity, the want of patrons, and by other obstacles, so that there was no possibility of beginning the work. Anyone engaged in literary occupations must enjoy tranquillity of body and mind, comfortable circumstances, and must not be troubled by any cares. Also, in ancient times authors carried on their labours by the support they received from high personages

In short, whilst I was thus waiting for an opportunity to find a patron, my time was lost, and I was very unhappy, till at last the breeze of divine favour wafted me into happiness and prosperity, which happened as follows: When the throne of justice, the office of government, and the exalted dignity of the highest rank became adorned by the excellent qualities of—the upholder of the banners of righteousness, the abolisher of the signs of darkness and aberration,[19] the intimate of the Royal Majesty, the Councillor of State, the refuge of created beings, the experienced, the intelligent, the possessor of all theoretical and practical perfections, the recipient of eternal felicities, the discoverer of the mysteries of antiquity, the adept in all the enigmas of philosophy, the Sûfi-minded and sincere-hearted, the dignified, the prudent, the administrator of the monarchy—AMIR A'LI SHIR (may God vouchsafe to the Musulmâns the perpetuity of His prosperity, and may God bring all his aspirations and undertakings to a happy issue), the rose-garden of scholars was weeded of the thorns of despon-

[18] The literal translation of the expression in the text, *Ikhwân-us-ṣafa*, ought to be 'Brethren of Purity,' but here it may be said, *Stat nominis umbra*, because that well-known and famous Society of Bosrah had ceased to exist centuries before our author wrote; its name however, has survived as a figure of speech.

[19] Meaning 'Persecutor of the heterodox,' who walk in darkness and error.

dency and began to flourish, the groves of the hopes of men of science were refreshed by abundant showers from the clouds of his favours, and the tree of the prosperity of learned men became fruit-bearing from the breeze of the gardens of his bounty

I, the insignificant servant, was waiting for the radiation of the sun of the benefits of prosperity during many hopeless nights, and was *counting the stars till the rise of dawn*, but was, by my ill luck and by the machinations of enemies, deprived of the felicity of obtaining admission to the private society, and of gaining the ear of him who is the friend of scholars.[20] In my great uneasiness, I requested the morning and the evening breeze, which is the messenger of the poor and the unhappy, to convey the following lines to that ocean of beneficence and of liberality.

Verses Thy largesses are more abundant
Than the waters of the ocean
The waves of thy liberality so inundated the world
That only thy servant remains untouched by them

I was moreover aware that the non-reception of favours was attributable rather to the receiver than to the granter, because the liberality of the latter is equally manifest to all.

At last, however, on a happy day, I was by favourable circumstances, or I should say by a special interposition of Providence, admitted to the propitious threshold When I was made happy by being allowed to kiss the carpet, I beheld, indeed, an exalted spirit, and an angel in the form of a man, distinguished by his noble attributes and accomplishments above the most learned persons of our times, whose exalted intellect penetrated the most abstruse matters, whose spotless bosom was the receptacle of the mysteries of the invisible world, whose pearl-shedding tongue was the interpreter of divine tidings, and whose poetical effusions delighted all intelligent readers!

Having explained my case, enjoyed the advantage of the

[20] The expression in the text, *Erbabi a'mayim*, literally, 'Endued with [large] turbans,' is translated as above, because it is a metaphor designating ecclesiastics, judges, and scholars in general, who usually wear bulky white turbans'

interview, and obtained leave to depart, I returned to my humble abode, and considered in what manner I might become enrolled in the service of that exalted personage, and by what trifling oblation I could make myself worthy of participating in the liberality of that sovereign. As he is greatly interested in the affairs of illustrious and holy men, and has in his knowledge of history, of biography, and in his researches concerning ancient nations, surpassed all past and present chroniclers, I concluded that I ought to write a collection of the histories of Prophets, Inspired Messengers, Khalifahs, and Sultâns, comprising also the affairs of high and low personages of various countries, which could neither be superseded by the works of any other authors, nor fall into oblivion during the vicissitude of time

Verses Buildings may be seen,
Ruined by sun and rain
Erect history's strong foundation
To escape from wind, rain, and desolation

My intention having been approved of, I was ordered to compose a history, free from metaphorical exaggerations, plagiarisms, prolixities and obscurities, divided into a preface seven parts, and an appendix, in such a manner that each part may contain three books, and could be read separately In compliance with the exalted command, I placed my finger of acquiescence on the vision of obedience, and girded my loins to begin the work, at the same time proferring my request to be provided with historical books, and with a lodging where I might comfortably pursue my labours, etc All my wishes met with the approbation of him who is aided by divine favour, namely, of the confidant of the Royal Majesty, and I was installed in his private mansion on the banks of the river Jil, in the vicinity of the high school built by his own generosity, which, with all the edifices constructed by that exalted personage, will (if it pleaseth Allah the Most High) be described in the proper place.

Verses No petitioner, either in anger or in play,
Perceived a negation in his kind eye

Not to disappoint the modest asker,
He always was the cheerful granter.

Were it not for his strenuous efforts, and the protection he grants to scholars, the traces of theoretical and of narrative sciences would disappear from the minds of persons addicted either to researches or to traditional knowledge, nor would a single individual remain in the realm of Khorâsân who is able to discern a surface from a line, or what is licit from what is illicit, and were it not for the bountiful consideration bestowed by him on the poor and distressed, persons like myself might wait for a long time to receive from covetous and envious men even as inconsiderable an amount of aid as the quantity of the collyrium which people apply to their eyes. As, however, a separate volume would be required to enumerate all his kind acts and excellent qualities, I sincerely pray that the Most High (whose name be glorified) may grant him a long life, may prosper him in all his undertakings, and may guard him from all the calamities and vicissitudes of fortune for the sake of His prophet, the honour of the family and progeny.

I begin the preface and the work by invoking the grace of the *Granter* of every good thing and the *Source* of all liberality, and, in compliance with the sanction of the monarch of the realms of knowledge, who is a lamp illuminating the world He has created, I call this book 'The Mausoleum of Illustrious Personages, containing the lives of Prophets, Kings, and Khalifahs,' and divide it into a preface, seven parts and an appendix.

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adventures of the Persian Kings and of the ancient philosophers.

Second Part.—Explanation of the wars of the prince of inspired messengers [Muhammad] and of the orthodox Khalifahs, blessings be upon him and upon them all.

Third Part.—Explanation of the adventures and events of the twelve Emams, of the Ommiade [Beni O'mayya] and of the Abbaside [Beni A'bbâs] Khalifahs.

Fourth Part.—Exposition of the history of the Kings contemporaneous with the Abbasides.

Fifth Part.—Description of the origin and rise of the conqueror Changiz Khân, and the rule of his descendants over Erân and Turân.

Sixth Part.—Description of the progress and reign of the Sâheb Qerân,[21] the conqueror of the world, and the axis of the political and religious government, the Amir Taimur Gurkân (may Allah illuminate his proof); of his conquest of the world, and record of the rule of most of his glorious progeny.

Seventh Part.—Exposition of the government of the divinely-aided, happy and victorious King, the paragon of all the qualities of four and seven,[22] the sovereign of the world and of the age, the honour of the monarchy and of the Khalifate, Abulghâzi Sultân Husain Bahâdur, may the standard of the champions of his sublime and victorious realm never be lowered.

Appendix.—Various narratives and descriptions concerning the created things of the world, and an epitome of the wonders and monuments of the omnipotence of the inscrutable Worker and Creator.[23]

[21] Meaning 'Lord of the conjunction of the two planets, Mars and Saturn,' which is an epithet equivalent to *Great* sovereign, conqueror, etc.

[22] The four qualities on earth are the four temperaments, namely, sanguine, bilious, melancholy, and phlegmatic, or the four elements, namely, water, fire, earth and air, the qualities of the firmament alluded to above are the seven planets.

[23] As already mentioned in the 'Translator's Preface,' this work embraces the whole of the 'First Part' and the 'Life of Muhammad' from the 'Second Part'; a list of translations into various European

The intelligent and experienced reader is aware that the science of history has many uses, the enumeration whereof would give occasion to great prolixity. But, according to the proverb, 'Though all cannot be completed, all is not omitted,' I cannot avoid recording some of these uses in order to enhance the pleasure and to augment the diligence of those who wish to devote themselves to the study of this science. Accordingly the musk-pen here inserts with slight alterations those uses, copied from trustworthy authorities; and this declaration is made that, if objections be raised, the intelligent may know who was the copyist.

First Use.—Men obtain all their knowledge either by means of their intellect or of their senses, the knowledge gained by the latter is acquired either by the eye or by the ear, and every intelligent person is aware that the affairs of the world can, by intellect alone, not be ascertained, as also that no individual ever lived long enough to witness all the events of the world with his own eyes, and to acquire certainty on their goodness or badness. Accordingly the way to become acquainted with the affairs of the world and its inhabitants, together with their customs and manners, depends upon the perusal of works based on things heard, nor does in this respect any other science resemble that of history.

Second Use.—History is a science promoting cheerfulness and exhilaration, wiping off the rust of *ennui* and fatigue from the speculum of the mind. Everybody knows that sight and hearing are nobler senses than the others. the former is delighted by contemplating beautiful pictures, and the latter by enjoying the recital of narratives; because curiosity is implanted in human nature, and in proverbs it is said that 'the eye is not satisfied with seeing, nor the ear filled with hearing,[24] nor the earth with rain.'

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languages from the other parts has likewise been collected and given in his preface.

[24] Comp. Ecclesiastes, ch. i. 8.

Third Use.—History, although having many advantages, can be easily studied and remembered; and anyone spending his time agreeably in the pursuit thereof may likewise draw useful lessons therefrom for his own guidance and the furtherance of his affairs.

Fourth Use.—Anyone able to criticise historical statements will meet with different expressions of opinion, will select those in conformity with authentic traditions, and reject those contrary to them as false; in which manner he will acquire the faculty of discriminating between truth and falsehood.

Fifth Use.—The sages have said that experience in affairs is one of the advantages to men, because by it the transactions of life are perfected. They have also said that there are various degrees of intellect, one of which they have named 'the intellect acquired by experience,' and this they have divided into three kinds. The first is the ability to predict the good and evil consequences of an undertaking, the second is the faculty of distinguishing from the act itself whether it will harm or profit the agent, the third is an acquaintance with the events of former times, and the power of ascertaining from them the causes of prosperity and distress, of happiness and calamity. Of all these three degrees of experience, that is the most instructive which a man has acquired by himself participating in an event. As the history of antiquity is based on the maxim that 'a thing is known by study, and averted by explanation' it is plain that it belongs to the first kind, because if a cheerful and practical narrative of a people is given, together with the various advantages which had accrued to the subjects who acted in the affairs recounted, an intelligent reader will draw his conclusions, and will, according to the verse, 'Those are they whom Allah directs,'[25] be guided by the experience thus acquired, and will bring his own business to a happy issue. On the other hand, when the history of an imbecile and weak-minded nation—which is careless and ignorant, and whose misfortunes may be a warning to

[25] Qurân, ch. xxxix. 19.

others—is perused, the reader will, according to the verse, 'O ye who are endowed with understanding,'[26] be put on his guard, and will, according to the verse, 'And will be a bar between them and between that which they covet,'[27] remain unscathed.

Sixth Use.—The student of history peruses in the works he reads the opinions of wise men, which are more sound than those of our [ordinary] contemporaries; because the ancients looked in their affairs mostly to their own profit, whereas in the present age everybody minds the business of other people more than his own, and the former principle is greatly superior to the latter. Accordingly, when a man consults history, he has the experience of many intelligent persons at his disposal, and may thus prevent calamities or remove them, or console himself, using the light kindled by others to illuminate his own affairs, and to bring them to a prosperous end. The words, 'Who is guided by the advice of others is aided,' and the suggestion of Solmân the Persian—u. w. bl.—to dig the foss, which met with the approbation of his lordship the refuge of prophecy[28]—blessing, etc—are likewise corroborations of the statement just made.

Seventh Use.—The intellect is strengthened by the study of history, virtue is promoted, and correct notions are produced. Therefore Barzachumir,[29] whose blessed nature was a paragon of wisdom, has said: 'A knowledge of history aids man to form a proper opinion, because an acquaintance with ancient events is like an impartial witness giving a true account of all things.'

Eighth Use.—The minds of exalted personages are set at rest by the study of history when untoward calamities befall them, because in such cases all hope of success is not cut off, since in days gone by sometimes the greatest misfortunes were, by the grace of the Omnipotent, removed in

[26] Qurân, ch. xxxix. 22. [27] *Ibid.*, ch. xxxiv. 53.

[28] The trench dug near Madinah by the advice of Solmân is meant; and the wind sent by Allah on that occasion against the assailants is alluded to in ch. xxxiii. verse 9 of the Qurân.

[29] This is the name of the celebrated wazir of Naushirvân the Just.

the easiest manner; for time gives birth to a thousand varied events, not one of which was [previously] reflected in the speculum of our mind.

Ninth Use.—He who is acquainted with the events and histories of the world attains a certain degree of patience and acquiescence in the Divine will, which is a quality of illustrious and pious men. For everyone who studies the affairs of this world must be aware how all the inspired messengers and prophets, u. w. bl., who are now ranking with angels, bore everything with patience, and how they behaved; accordingly he will also, when any great calamity befalls him, take hold of the cable of resignation, and will not fail to imitate them; not is there any doubt that whoever possesses these two laudable qualities will be happy in both worlds, and will never feel the misery of the infernal regions.

Tenth Use.—This advantage, which in reality comprises several, but is reckoned by historians as one, is as follows: Just and religious sovereigns, as well as grandees and the chiefs of the people, become, by the vicissitudes and catastrophes recorded in history, more impressed with [a consciousness of] the power of the King of Kings] (praised be His government!), and are warned by the changes of past times that neither fortune nor misfortune is of long duration, and that they ought not to be puffed up by the smiles of the former, nor distressed by the frowns of the latter. By perusing the accounts of the happiness of the just and virtuous, and of the unhappiness of base and wicked individuals, we are admonished; the advantages of beneficence, and the evil consequences of maleficence, in matters of government become evident to men in power, who, although they may at the beginning of their governments have been tyrannical and oppressive, mostly renounce these evil ways of the erring and of the condemned, are saved from the abyss of the wicked, and walk in the path of the righteous, and finally attain the enjoyments in store, and the exalted stations prepared, for good men in eternal bliss; for 'Such is the abode in the next world for those who covet not

greatness on earth, nor wickedness; and the reward is for the pious.'[30]

Why Governors stand in greater need of a Knowledge of History than other Persons.

For several reasons no other persons ought to be more in need of a knowledge of history than rulers:

Firstly: Because the affairs of the whole world depend on their option and consideration, as well as the good and evil acts committed, the former of which it is their duty to encourage, and the latter to prevent. Therefore it is incumbent upon them to be acquainted with political events, stratagems of war, and the counsels of wise men, all of which matters may be learnt from history.

Secondly: Because when they study this science with attention, and gain a knowledge of the revenues and current affairs of ancient kings and governors, they strive to act justly, to govern their subjects mildly, and to do everything conducive to the permanency of their kingdom; they abstain from everything that might entail misery, trouble, or bring on a diminution of their power. When monarchs become impressed with the happy consequences of magnanimity, as portrayed in the characters of some former sovereigns, and contemplate the effects, intense pleasure takes hold of their minds, and they become desirous of surpassing the good reputations of their predecessors.

Thirdly: As Governors and Amirs are constantly absorbed in the political affairs of their governments, and their mental faculties are wearied by being always thus employed, they are greatly refreshed and cheered up by listening to historical narratives, because there is no science more apt to exhilarate the mind than history. The objections of ignorant persons—that the majority of chronicles are mere fictions and fables of the ancients, commingling truth with falsehood and right with wrong,

[30] Qurân, ch. xxviii. 83.

to discern the one from the other being difficult, and that, therefore, it is useless to study them—are obviated by considering that the Emâms of former, and the great men of latter, times have based this science on righteousness, and it is impossible that the most virtuous persons, and the greatest U'lamâ, should have taken fiction and untruthfulness for their motto, and should have been engaged in palming them off as truth; therefore everything handed down to posterity by them is free from defects and imperfections. If, on the other hand, liars, and inventors of stories, obeying the impulses of their wicked propensities, impute blamable acts to the great men of antiquity, and consign their insinuations to writing, their productions are by learned critics soon branded with the stigma of infamy and exposed to the scorn of the world. Nevertheless, supposing some chronicles to be fictitious (which Allah forbid), they may be perused to some advantage, such, for instance, as the 'Stories of Kalila and Dimna,' with other fictions, not one of which is founded on reality, but which may be read with very great advantage and profit · Allah, however, is most wise!

Qualities Necessary to an Historiographer.

It is clear to all intelligent persons that the business of an author is a serious and dangerous one, but especially the collecting and arranging of historical materials; because books of this kind are brought to the notice of sovereigns endowed with great power, of Amirs who are very discerning, of great personages, of nobles, of U'lamâ, and of scholars in all countries, and even of persons of low station scarcely able to distinguish white from black, but much pleased to listen to [recitals from] books of this kind, so that according to the proverb, 'Whoever composes anything desires to become a target,' the unhappy author becomes even in small defects the mark for the arrows of reprobation, shot at him by everybody. If, therefore, some of the conditions necessary for an historiographer are

here submitted to the reader, he will perhaps withdraw the tongue of blame into his palate, and lend a willing ear to the recital of the historian.

The *first quality* is that an historian should be unbiassed in his religion, and of an orthodox sect, because heretics, such as the Kharejites and the Shia'hs,[31] impute wicked acts to the companions of the prophet, and to their immediate successors, and have deceived people by inserting improper and unproved statements into their works, so that anyone, who is not aware of their tricks, believes their traditions to have been taken from the 'Mishkât Nabavvat' and from the 'Misbâh Resâlat,'[32] and is thus led into error.

The *second quality* is that an historian should always state both sides of his subject. Thus, for instance, when he mentions the virtues, good acts and justice along with the benefactions of persons of low and high degree, he must likewise mention their defects and bad qualities, he is, however, at liberty either to give a detailed statement of these last, or to hint at them enigmatically and covertly according to the proverb that 'A hint is sufficient to a wise man.'

Third quality.—In his blame and praise he must abstain from exaggeration, and except for the sake of gaining some advantage, or averting some calamity, he must not swerve from the maxim that 'The middle road is the best,' because his object is merely to give a correct account of events, and if he aims to do that only, he will succeed

Fourth quality—An historian ought to write as if under the guidance of Providence. It is his duty to abstain from dissimulation, and also from vehemence, and to endeavour to write in a fluent style adorned with handsome and easily intelligible figures of speech, void of unusual or antiquated expressions, so as to make his work acceptable and pleasing to all intelligent persons of high and of low degree; and

[31] The tenets of these, as well as of other sects, are described in Section viii. of the Preliminary Discourse to Sale's Qurân

[32] The 'Radiations of Prophetship' and the 'Lamp of Apostleship' are two works of great authority, and well-known even in our times

this rule applies not only to historical, but to all other compositions.

The *fifth quality*—which does not refer to the author of this work—is, that an historiographer must be noted for his honesty and piety, because, as the majority of historical reports concerning the affairs of kingdoms are not based on authorities which claim the full confidence of the readers, they are biassed by the character of the author, who, if he be of the right stamp, will not jeopardize his eternal salvation for the advantages of this world. Accordingly his works will be perused with delight, and will be handed down to the latest posterity.

In confirmation of the assertion just made, it may be remarked that the persons endowed with the above qualities have composed historical works in the Arabic and in the Persian languages, and although many centuries have elapsed since they wrote, their works have not fallen into oblivion.

The following are some of the names of Arab historians: Emâm Muhammad Bin Esahâq, who was the first author of the religion of Muhammad who wrote on the wars [of the prophet] and on history[33] After him came Emâm Wuhub Bin Muniah, and Emâm Vaqidi, and Assmâi, and Muhammad Jarir-ut-Tabari, and Abu Abdullah Musallam, who wrote the 'Jâmi'-ul-ma'araf,' and Muhammad Bin Ali Bin Aa'thum Al-Kufi, author of the 'Fatûh,' and Abdullah Bin Almoqana and Hakim Abu Ali Maskinah, and Fahr-ud-din Muhammad Bin Abu Dâud, and Suleimân Albenagiti, and Abulfaraj Bin Jûzi, author of the 'Moutazim,' and O'mad-ud-din Bin Kâthir Ushshâmi, and Muqadasi,

[33] This work has been translated by me into English from Wustenfeld's Arabic edition, and I have prefixed to it some corrections I applied to Weil's otherwise admirably correct German translation. By comparing that work, which was composed during the first half of the second century of the Hegira, with the present one, it will be found that additions have been made in the latter and in other subsequent works on the life of Muhammad.

(a) The MS of Mr. Rehatsek's translation of this first life of Muhammad is now in my possession, and will be published later on as a volume of the Oriental Translation Fund, New Series —EDITOR.

and Tha'alébi, and Abu Hanifah Dinvari, and Muhammad Bin Abdullah Al-Masu'di, and Emâm Kaweel Abdullah Bin Asad Aliamani Aliafa'i, and Abunassar Alotbi, the author of the 'Yamani' Most of these authors likewise wrote commentaries and traditions, and the authority of their works is high beyond measure. The names of some Persian authors are as follows: The first is the king of eloquence, Abul-Qâsim Hosan Bin Muhammad Bin Ali Al-Firdausi At-Tûsi, then comes Abul Hasan Ali Bin Shams-ul Islâm al Baihaqy, and Abul Hasan Bin Muhammad Bin Suleiman, author of the 'Târikh-i Khosrû'; and Khôjah Abulfazl Baihaqi, compiler of the 'Tarikh-i Muhammad Bin Sabaktagin,' in three volumes, and Abbas Bin Mossab Ahmad Bin Siâr, and Abu Esahâq Muhammad Bin Ahmad Bin Yonas Al-Buzzâz, and Muhammad Bin O'qail Alfaqih Al-Balkhi, and Abul Kâsim Ali Bin Mahmûd Alka'bi, to whom the Tarikh (history) of Hirat, of Balkh, and of Nishapur is ascribed, and Abul Hasan Muhammad Bin Abd-ul-Ghâfer Al-Farsi, author of the 'Syâq-ut-Tarikh', and Sadr-ud-din Muhammad Bin Hasan Al-Nizami, author of the 'Târikh Almâther', and Abu Abdullah Minhaj Bin Modûd Aljorjani, author of the 'Tabaqat Nassiri', and Akbar-ud-din E'râqi, and Abul Qâsim Muhammad Bin Ali Alkâshi, author of the 'Zubdat-ut-Tovârikh', and Khôjah Abulfazl Abdullah Abu Nasser, and Ahmad Bin Ali Almunkâl, author of the 'Mahzan-ul-ballâghat' and of the 'Fazail-ulmulûk', and A'la-ud-din Atâ-ulmalik Ajawini, brother of the author of the 'Shahid'; and Khôjah Shams-ud-din, author of a 'Divân' and of the 'Târikh Johan Kushai', and Hamdullah Mastufi Qazvini, author of the 'Târikh i Guzideh' and of the 'Nazhat-ul-Qulûb', and Qâzi Nasser-ud-din Beidhavi, author of the 'Nizam-ut-tovârikh'; and Khôjah Rashid Tabib author of the 'Jâmi', and Hafez Abru, upon all of whom be the mercy and benediction of Allah, as well as upon other historians who flourished at sundry times, and who have been used as sources, authorities and references [in this work].

Although this preface has been protracted to some length, all intelligent persons will admit that it was expedient, and hereby the beginning of the work, divided into seven parts (which is, by the grace and favour of the Almighty, and the aid of the humble-minded and pious Amir—who protects the oppressed, discomfits the oppressors, whose kindness is the balm for the wounds of poor men, and whose wrath is the special antidote against the poison of men who bite like vipers, and are evil wishers —pleasing to those of high and of low station) and selected from trustworthy authorities, is made.

PART I.

EXPLANATION ABOUT THE FIRST CREATED BEINGS.—RECORD OF THE GENII.—NARRATIVES OF THE PROPHETS TO WHOM GREETINGS AND SALUTATION—HISTORY OF THE KINGS OF PERSIA, AND OF THE ANCIENT PHILOSOPHERS

GENII WERE THE FIRST CREATED BEINGS

SEVERAL authors of reputation mention that Jâbur, the auxiliary[34]—may Allah reward him—who was an individual distinguished among the inhabitants of Madinah by his virtues and learning, had, before the origin of the religion of Islâm, associated with Jewish priests, Christian doctors and the like, and had made inquiries from them about past events, but that after having heard the various accounts of the Gentiles, his mind was not satisfied with any of them. When the sun of Muhammad's prophetship rose on the horizon of the country of Yathrab,[35] and Jâbur had become an intimate friend of the seal of prophets—upon whom be the most perfect of benedictions—he was always kindling the lights of knowledge at the flambeau of prophecy, and therefore attained a high degree of information. It is related that he said one day, 'Prophet of Allah which was the thing first invested with the robe of existence by the Almighty?' His lordship replied: 'The light of thy prophet, O Jâbur.' It is, however, known that on this point also many Muhammadans differ, and the reason of

[34] The name of Alassari, meaning 'auxiliary,' is chiefly applied to the citizens of Madinah, who sided with Muhammad, and aided him after his flight from Mekkah.

[35] Yathrab is the ancient name of Madinah.

the discrepancy is, because many contradictory traditions have come down to us on this subject, as the prophet—upon whom be the benediction of Allah and peace—has said: 'The first [thing] which Allah created was my light; and the first which Allah created was the pen, and the first which Allah created was the intellect; and He said to it "Approach," and it approached. He said to it "Retreat,' and it retreated. He said· My honour and glory! By thee I grant, and by thee I forbid. By thee I establish [now] and by thee I appoint [what is to be].' The author of the 'Noâdir-ulma'ani' has added the following two traditions to the preceding: 'The prophet of Allah—u. w. bl, etc.—has said: The first which Allah created was the table,[36] and he said also that the first which Allah created was the spirit.' The U'lama have expounded these traditions, but the elucidation is the one adduced by the chief of the assembly of the verifiers, and the leader of those of the present age, the Emâm Abdullah Bin Ali Bin Asad Aliamani Aliafai, in his book entitled 'Noâdir-ulma'ani,' namely, that according to these accredited traditions the Lord of prophecy—u. w bl., etc.—means by these metaphors one essence, because that essence is manifest by itself, but not the manifester, and the abundance of perfections has been imparted to the holy prophetic nature (benediction, etc.) by the inscrutable Creator through this essence, which the prophet called light and ascribed to himself; and metaphorically considering it as the limner of knowledge passing over the preserved table, or over the surfaces of pictures, it was interpreted as the pen, being, therefore, able to perceive and to understand its own nature, and the nature of everything else, it was called the intellect; but as the place of the pictures is evident and established, it was called the table, and since it is living by nature, and is the vivifier of other faculties, it was called the spirit. This definition is one of the most glorious

[36] This is the so-called *preserved table* on which the first transcript of the Qurân was written from everlasting —Sale's Preliminary Discourse, p 46, ed. 1850.

certainties, since the number of names does not imply contradiction in the object named. The purpose of these preliminary remarks is, *to state that the* Lord of glory illuminated the light of Muhammad, which is also called the white essence, with the splendour of beauty; that essence became divided into two parts, one of which was extremely pure and luminous, whereas the other appeared to the vision of the intellect to be inferior to the first. The *first was called* light, and the second *fire* Of the first, *noble and superior individuals, the* heavenly bodies and *constellations*, the souls *of the* prophets, *of saints, and those* of the right hand,[37] were created From what has just been said, it appears that every thing, except Allah, was created by means of the light of his Lordship the seal of the prophets, who has thus arrived from the corner of non-existence, in the plain of being and evidence, in conformity with *the words,* 'Hadst *thou [i e* Muhammad] *not* been, the *heavens would not have* been *created,*'[38] *which* confirm the above assertions; consequently his Holiness and Lordship is the noblest and the most excellent of beings On the subject of the beings first created, there are also other opinions, but the author is loath to cite them, lest he should unnecessarily prolong this dissertation.

JÂN BIN JÂN AND THE GENII WHO ARE ACCORDING TO THE LAW CALLED JINNS, AND THE DOMINION OF EBLIS—MAY ALLAH CURSE HIM.

Allah the Most High has said 'And the genii, we have created them formerly of the fire of the Simûm.'[39] It is related by Ibn Abbâs, u. w. bl., that the name of the father

[37] Those of the right han' are the blessed. who go to paradise, and those of the left the damned, whose abode is hell

[38] This well-known and memorable saying is in the original as follows: *Lau laka ma khuhkat ulloflâka* It does not occur, however, in the Quran.

[39] Simûm is a well-known hot wind of the desert. It was *from the* fire of this wind that the Jinns or demons were created —Qurân, ch. xv. 27. Eblis was at first an angel, and said to God with reference to Adam 'Thou hast created me of fire, and him of clay'—Qurân, ch. vii. 11, and also ch. xxxviii 77

of the genii is Asûm, and that his surname is Jân. In the book of Adam,[40] it is recorded that Jân was called Târnûsh; when his children and descendants had multiplied on the face of the earth, Allah—whose name be glorified—gave them a law, and commanded all of them to obey Him. Târnûsh and his children, having received the commandments of religion, lived in comfort, till one cycle of recompense had elapsed; after that they began to sin, to disobey, to be obstinate and haughty A cycle of recompense, which was considered by the sages of former times to consist of thirty-six thousand years, and by some of twenty-five thousand and two hundred, is held by Mahi-ud-din Maghrbi, whose opinions are honoured in latter ages as decrees, to amount to twenty-four thousand years. After the Lord of glory had condemned them, he subjected all of them to the chastisements of perdition, except the weak ones of that nation who had been constant in prayer, these he pardoned, appointed one of them of the name of Haliaish to be their governor, and granted them a new law. When another cycle had elapsed, they became disobedient, because their nature was intent upon aggrandisement; therefore the Eternal sent forth His command for their annihilation. The remainder of that tribe, who had found grace from the wrath of Allah on account of their constancy in prayer, obtained an individual named Maliqa to be their governor The third cycle also came to an end, they again transgressed from the straight path, and were afflicted by the anger of the powerful avenger, but the pious, who were only few in number, were spared, and became in course of time a great nation. Hamûs, who was adorned with the ornaments of virtue, science, probity, and rectitude, became their governor, and reigned over them during his whole life, with justice according to the law, until he was translated to the propinquity of the mercy of the Lord of both worlds.

The wicked sons of Jân blasphemed and sinned, the

[40] See *Zeitschr ft d D M G* for 1865, p 120, where four MSS of it are described, and Professor Max Muller, in his 'Lectures on the Science of Language' p 284, mentions it as a miserable remnant of what was once the literature of the Chaldæans and Babylonians.

Most High sent prophets to admonish them, and to advise them, but all in vain. Therefore, at the end of the fourth cycle, Divine Wisdom renewed the judgment, and appointed a tribe of angels to make war upon them. The angels, having descended from heaven, attacked the sons of Jân, and killed the majority of them. Those who escaped from the sword dispersed among islands and ruins; some of them who had not attained the age of maturity were made prisoners by the angels. The name of one of these prisoners was Eblis, who went up to heaven with the angels, and was educated among them; by degrees he improved so much that he was honoured by being made a teacher of angels. The author of the 'Kulmât-ullutayif' has related that the assembly to whom he preached was attached to the glorious throne, that he ascended a pulpit of rubies, and a banner of light floated over his head, and so many angels were present in his company that their number could not be ascertained by anyone except by Him who knows all secrets. Many years having elapsed since he had become a worshipper, and the sons of Jân having in course of time increased, and come forth from the isles and ruins into inhabited places, they subjected the world to themselves so that it fell away from obedience to, and the knowledge of God. Eblis aspired to become their director and guide, signified to them his wish, and was accepted. He came down to earth from heaven with a crowd of angels, and a small company of the obedient sons of Jân hastened to [enrol themselves in] his service. Azazil[41] sent one of the pious, Sahlûb Bin Mullâtub by name, to the great men of that people, as a prophet, to call them to follow the religion. The messenger acted according to the commands he had received, but an excess of temerity and rebellion induced that nation to cause him to taste the beverage of martyrdom. Azazil, however, was not aware of this event, and after a protracted absence of the prophet, he sent

[41] Eblis, Satan, and Azazil have in course of time become almost synonymous. But Azazil is not to be confounded with Azrayil, the angel of death, he being the counterpart of the well-known scape-goat, as any Hebrew scholar will easily perceive.

another, who underwent the same fate; then Azazil sent them a monitor, whom these impure ones likewise slew. At last he despatched Yusuf Bin Yusuf, who met his own kindred, and they strove to take his life also, but, by means of subtleties and stratagems, he rescued himself from the jaws of death, returned, and narrated his adventures. Azazil then obtained leave from the Mansion of Unity, sped with an army of angels to combat the disobedient, and having slain the majority, he dispersed the remnant of them over the world. Having attained sovereign authority in all matters of command and dominion, he raised the standard of royalty, with the motto of 'I, and no one besides me,' asserting that, in case the Almighty should delegate the supreme authority to another individual, he would offer resistance, because he considered himself to be the sole possessor of all theoretical and practical perfections, and saw no one more worthy than himself to occupy that position. In short, the vapour of self-complacency and conceit had found entrance in the closet of his brain, and he dwelt alternately in heaven and on earth.

Verses. From pride in the army of the King,
He now roamed over the earth and now over the sky.
He was not aware of his works and acts,
Nor that his method was faulty

Very often he adduced, in select assemblies, arguments favouring his own excellency by means of deceitful illusions and diabolical stratagems, and allowed free play to his contumacious spirit in the company of angels. Meanwhile, some of the latter were one day going to have a look at the Preserved Table. On their return Eblis perceived marks of grief on their forehead, and asked them for the cause. They replied, 'This day we have obtained the information from the Table that one of the Cherubim[42] of the mansion of eternity will soon be afflicted with ejection and everlasting damnation. Every one of us is afraid for his own sake, and we request thee to pray that the guardian angels may

[42] This is the literal meaning of *Muqarrab*, one who is near [God]. The root is the same in Arabic and in Hebrew

allow none of us to fall into this awful misfortune; we are very much terrified and dismayed.' Eblis said, 'Let not this event disturb you, for that judgment refers neither to me nor to you. I have years ago been aware of it, and have not communicated it to anyone.' The pride and arrogance of Eblis did not allow him to weigh the words of the angels, he had no inclination for humiliation and submission; consequently he was condemned to everlasting perdition, and sempiternal culpability, may Allah preserve us therefrom.

At that time the blessed exclamation '*I am going to place a substitute on earth*'[43] reached the hearing of the inhabitants of the universe, and the echo of the succession of Adam overspread the surface of the world. On hearing the news, depraved ejaculations protruded their heads from the entrails of the unhallowed Satan, and he said, 'How can a man created of loam claim superiority, since clay is thick and dark, whereas fire is subtle and luminous; light is always more excellent than darkness.' The angels, having guessed the event to come either from the deeds of the son of Jân, or by some other means, said [to God], '*Wilt Thou place there one who will do evil therein and shed blood, but we celebrate Thy praise and sanctify Thee.*'[44] But the Lord, who is aware of what is to take place, knew by His prescience that the angels were not conscious that Adam would become the repository of supreme mysteries, and the manifester of the perfections and attributes of Allah, therefore He replied, '*Verily I know that which ye know not*'[45] By this answer the angels were admonished for their boldness, and having come forth to deprecate, they walked in the path of imploring pardon, but Eblis persevered in his opposition as before.

Let it not remain hidden from the discerning reader that everything narrated above about Jân and the genii has been taken from the translation of the books of Adam—u. w. b. bl., etc—written by the distinguished sage Abu Ali

[43] Qurân, ch. ii. 28 [44] *Ibid* [45] *Ibid.*

Ja'fer Bin Yaqûb-ul-isfahani; and He [*i.e.* God] knows best the true state of the case.

Summary of the History of Adam the Pure, upon whom be Benediction and Peace from the Perfect King.

When the Almighty benefactor had decided to create Adam, He commanded Jebrâil [Gabriel] the faithful to bring a handful of loam of various colours and endowed with different qualities from the surface of the earth. Jebrâil started on the wings of haste from his place, traversed the contignations of the skies and elemental orbs, and having arrived on the surface of the earth, he stretched forth his hand to execute the command he had received. This fearful attempt moved the vapours imprisoned for ages in the bowels of the earth, and caused a terrible earthquake, whereon the soil interrogated Jebrâil, who replied 'The Lord of glory intends to create a man from thee, to dignify his head with the diadem of successorship, and to adorn his stature with the robe of munificence.' The earth rejoined: 'I take refuge with Allah from thee; I adjure thee by the Lord to desist from this purpose, lest He create of me an individual who would, like the sons of Jân, attempt stratagems of disobedience, and would consequently be punished and condemned. I have not the power to resist the wrath of God and the punishment of the Most High King.' Jebrâil heard the entreaties of the earth, and, pitying its helplessness, returned the same way by which he had descended, and laid his information before the vestibule of [the Lord of] glory. By the permission of the Creator of men, Michael also descended upon earth, and the same conversation having taken place between him and the earth as with Jebrâil, he likewise returned. Then the Almighty sent A'zrayil on the same errand, the earth again implored God and began to lament and to cry. A'zrayil said: It is more incumbent upon me to obey the Omnipotent Nourisher than to take pity on thee.' Accord-

ingly, he collected a handful of earth of different colours and properties from the whole surface of the earth, and, having mixed all parts together, he deposited them between Tayif and Mekkah The difference of men in colour and quality is derived from this original discrepancy and natural variety. When A'zrayil arrived in the glorious palace, Allah the most holy and omnipotent asked him whether the earth had this time taken refuge with Him or not A'zrayil replied, 'Yes' The Lord said: 'If it took refuge with Me from thee, why didst thou not spare it?' He replied · 'I deemed obedience to Thee more necessary than pity for it' The Most High continued: 'Depart, for I have made thee the angel of death, and I have placed the taking of the soul of Adam and of his seed into thy power.' At these words A'zrayil began to weep, saying: 'Among the children of men there will be prophets and saints who will undoubtedly hate me on this account' The Almighty rejoined 'I shall send so many complaints and diseases upon mankind, that, on account of the vehemence of their afflictions, they will entertain no enmity for thee, and none of their deeds will be a cause of grief to thee.'

In short, when that handful of clay was placed between Mekkah and Tayif, the clouds of the Almighty's mercy rained showers of mercy on it for many years, during which time the Lord and Bestower of good gifts was engaged in leavening man's temperament with the hand of love and compassion, and impregnated his nature according to his foreknowledge with every property necessary for the manifester of successorship. It is recorded in ancient books that the inscrutable Creator had formed the body of Adam of black putrid clay, and had left it to exsiccate; it remained for forty years in this drying state between Mekkah and Tayif, when an angel passed near it, saying: 'The Lord, whose name be praised, has not created a handsomer thing than this; probably on this man the high dignity of successorship will be conferred.' When Adam was yet in this drying stage, Eblis passed one day near him with some angels, and when he struck the abdomen of the clay

figure, it sounded like a potter's vessel. Eblis said: 'This individual is hollow, his architecture is neither substantial nor firm, he will soon be liable to get the colic.' Within himself he said. 'If God exalts him above me I shall not obey him, and if I get authority over him I shall do my best to ruin him.' Then addressing the angels, he asked: 'Should the Almighty, after appointing this creature over you, command you to obey him, what would you do?' They replied. 'We shall fulfil the conditions of obedience, and girding our loins with submission, we shall not requite the favours of our benefactor with rebellion and ingratitude.' Many expounders of the verse, 'I know that which ye know not,'[46] have referred it to the intention of obedience openly avowed by the angels, and to the prevarication secretly meditated by Eblis.

When the time had arrived that the happy tidings of the morning of the greatest substitute's [*i.e.* Adam's] existence should dawn from the horizon of the Giver of gifts and Source of liberality, the radiation of the sun of his felicity should begin to shine from the orient of excellence and grace; that the keys of intentions and desires should be entrusted to the grasp of his good pleasures and intelligence, that the locks of the ways and means should be abandoned to his power and discernment; that the castle of his body should become illuminated by the lightning of vitality, and that the breeze of prosperity should begin to permeate the rose grove of his beauty, then the Holy Ghost hastened, by command of the Most Holy, in company with the faithful spirit [*i.e* Gabriel], towards the body of Adam, but as his nature appeared to the subtle and luminous soul to be thick and dark it [*i.e.* the soul] refused to descend into that mansion until the allocution of the Lord of Lords reached it: 'Enter into it unwillingly, and depart out of it unwillingly' The soul began to enter by his blessed head, and wherever it penetrated the body of Adam was changed into flesh and skin. Before the soul had permeated all his [*i.e.* Adam's] noble members, he

[46] Qurân, ch. ii., end of verse 28.

exclaimed: 'O Lord' hasten to complete my creation before the night sets in.' Therefore the Lord said: 'Man is created of haste'[47] Meanwhile Adam sneezed, and by divine inspiration began to praise and to thank the Lord of glory, saying. 'Praise be to Allah, the Lord of both worlds!' Then he was honoured with the reply: 'Thy Lord have mercy on thee,' and the Lord Most High said also: 'My compassion preceded My wrath,' because Adam became the recipient of favour and grace before he had adored God, and was afflicted with the pain of exclusion only after he had committed sin

Astronomers state that the soul entered the body of Adam on a Friday, on the tenth of [the month of] Moharram, wherefore that day is called *a'ashura* [decade]. It happened at a time when the first degree of Capricorn was on the eastern horizon, Saturn in the sign of Gemini, Jupiter in Pisces, Mars in Aries, the Moon in Leo, the Sun and Mercury in Virgo, and Venus in Libra. Some have said that when Adam—u w peace—was formed, all the stars were in the highest degrees except Mercury; but He [Allah] knows best the truth of the case When Adam was ready, the Bestower of all gifts imparted to him the denominations, 'and He taught Adam the names of all things, and then proposed them to the angels,'[48] and examined Adam and the angels; when the former was first created, the latter said to each other: 'Whatever our Omnipotent Nourisher creates, and whomsoever He seats upon the throne of successorship, that person will not be dearer to Him than we are, and by the predestination of [His] acquiescence, we shall be wiser than he, since we have served many years in the mansion of Him who knows everything, absent or present, and we have received knowledge by means of the Preserved Table.'

Distich. Before Moslem schools, Christian convents and idol temples were built.
We have been with Thee in the creations of beings.

The angels, being unable to rehearse the names, acknow-

[47] Qurân, ch. xxi. 38. [48] *Ibid.*, ch. ii. 29.

ledged their inability, saying: 'Praise be unto Thee, we have no knowledge but what Thou teachest us; for Thou art knowing and wise.'[49] Adam was adorned with external beauty and internal perfection; the highest angels were ordered to worship his essence, endowed with perfect qualities, for the purpose of honouring him. A company of them advanced with the step of submission, and placed the forehead of humility on the ground, except Eblis, 'who refused, and was puffed up with pride, and became of the number of unbelievers.'[50] Consequently he was prohibited from entering paradise, accursed for ever, and excluded from the palace of the Sempiternal.

Distich: The altar of Thy two eyebrows is so lovely
That the angel is cursed who loves Thee not.

Historians have recorded that the noble mind of Adam felt in paradise a yearning for a companion and intimate friend, and that the Beneficent Sovereign, whose holy essence is free from the imperfection of slumber and sleep, willing to gratify the desire of the first man, appointed the king of somnolency over the city of his existence, and created Eve from his left side, without his being aware of it. When he awoke, and Eve attracted his august attention, he asked her 'Who art, and why comest thou?' She replied: 'I am one of thy members, and the Almighty—whose name be praised and exalted—has created me to become thy companion and wife.' Adam was rejoiced at these words, and having offered prayers of gratitude, matrimony was solemnized between them. It is said that the marriage oration was pronounced by the Gracious and Beneficent [God], which, according to the most authentic traditions, consisted of the following words: 'In the name of Allah, the merciful, the clement! Praise is My garment, magnificence My cloak, grandeur My veil, and all creatures are My men-servants, and My maid-servants. Muhammad—u. w. bl., etc.—is My beloved and My prophet! I have paired all things to point to My unity. I call to witness

[49] Quran, ch. ii. 30. [50] *Ibid*, ch. ii. 32.

My angels, and the dwellers in My heavens, and the bearers of My throne, that I have married Eve, My maid-servant, *by the miracle of My creation, and by an act of My omnipotence, to Adam—o. w b. p.*—with the marriage portion of My adoration, praise,[51] purity and sanctity She bears witness that there is no God but Allah, One having no partner O Adam and Eve! dwell ye two in My paradise, and eat of My fruits, but approach not My tree. Peace be upon you. with My mercy and blessing.' Then Adam and Eve dwelt in the spacious courts of paradise according to the sacred verse 'O Adam' dwell thou and thy wife in the garden'[52] The enjoyment of all the good things was licit to them except the forbidden fruit, as the Most High said 'Eat of the fruit thereof plentifully wherever ye will, but approach not this tree, lest ye become of the number of the transgressors'[53] The learned differ about the prohibited tree, but the generally received opinion is, that it was the wheat plant. It is related that when the gardens of intimacy between Adam and Eve were opened, they rushed at full speed to enjoy them.

Satan having been condemned to everlasting damnation, prohibited from entering paradise, and shut out from the society of angels, the impure entrails of that accursed one were kindled with the flames of envy and covetousness He was constantly planning how he might enter paradise and seduce Adam in such a way as to exclude him from it, and to compel him to take up his abode elsewhere. He first tried to induce the peacock to assist him, saying: 'I consider myself under obligations of amity and love towards thee, and in past times we have been great friends, I now request thee to take me under the protection of thy wings, that I may enter paradise, and by some stratagem expel my inveterate enemy from it, and afterwards obtain it myself.' The peacock refused, but advised him to try the serpent,

[51] This word is in the original *Tahlil*, which means to praise God by saying, *La Alaha-illallah*, 'No God but Allah' The Tahlil may be said to be our 'Hallelujah,' the root of both expressions being the same in Arabic and Hebrew.

[52] Qurân, ch. ii. 33. [53] *Ibid.*

which Eblis did, first beginning with suggestions, and reminding him of their ancient friendship, he explained his intention. Satan's diabolical inspirations took effect upon the serpent, and giving him a place in his own throat, he thus introduced him into paradise without the gatekeeper's knowledge. Eblis went to Adam and Eve and began to lament and weep. They knew him not, but asked for the reason of his distress, and he said: 'I deplore the termination of your fate, because Allah—whose name be exalted—will expel you from this garden, and will deprive you of all these blessings. He will even change the comfort of your life into the affliction of death.' After conversations of this kind, Eblis left them, and Adam and Eve were full of sadness and care, afterwards Eblis returned, and said to Adam: 'If thou wilt place confidence in my words and follow my advice, I shall direct thee to a tree, and if thou eatest of the fruit thereof, thou wilt for ever abide in paradise, neither will the misery of death ever find entrance into the courts of thy posterity, God has said, "Adam, I shall point out to thee the tree of eternity, and a country which perishes not."' Adam asked: 'Which is that tree?' Eblis showed him the tree which he had been forbidden to approach, but Adam refrained from following his advice, whereupon he adjured them both [*i.e.* Adam and Eve], saying: 'I give both of you good advice.' Adam still resisted, and they separated. Eblis then again met Eve alone, and desisted not until he had persuaded her, and the serpent bore witness to the truth of his words When Adam had returned, Eve said: 'The serpent, who is one of the guardians of paradise, certifies to the truth of what our dear and faithful friend asserts, neither has he any interested object in view. Now, I shall first taste of the fruit, and if a misfortune befalls me, do thou intercede for me, or else eat thou likewise, that the everlasting kingdom of sempiternal bliss may fall to our lot.' Eve then ate some of the fruit, and at her instigation Adam did so likewise. The fruit had not yet settled in Adam's stomach when the ornaments of paradise suddenly disappeared, leaving their

bodies in a state of nudity, which they strove to cover with the leaves of a fig-tree. When they were thus situated a divine allocution reached them as follows: 'O Adam! knowest thou the cause of this nudity?' He replied: 'Yes, Lord, we have eaten of the forbidden fruit and not kept Thy commandment. The audacity of Eve was the cause of this presumption, for at her instigation I tasted of the fruit, and I drank the cup of this affliction at her invitation.' Eve became confused at these words, and said: '*My God!* the serpent who is a guardian and watch of the garden has emboldened me to commit this deed. He swore that this is the tree of eternity, else no sin would have originated from me.'

The command, changing the form of the serpent, now went forth, and the Mighty Avenger addressed him thus: 'Since thou hast been the promoter of this crime, be thou afflicted with imperfections and debilities. Crawl thou on the earth upon thy breast and thy abdomen, let turbid mud be thy food, and pass thou thy life in abjection.' Before this event, the serpent had been the most beauteous creature in shape. Eve's punishment consisted in the travail of parturition, menstruation, and subjection to her husband. Adam suffered the pains of being separated from the propinquity of the Almighty, the pangs of hunger, and the remorse of conscience. He was also condemned to toil for his subsistence. The figure of the peacock likewise became changed. The divine command of expulsion from paradise was issued to Adam and Eve as follows. 'Get ye down the one of you an enemy unto the other.'[54] Whereon both of them fell from the gardens of paradise into the haunts of baseness and abjection. According to the most current tradition, Adam fell upon the mountain Serandib,[55] Eve into Jeddah, Eblis into Seistân, the serpent into Espahân, and the peacock into the district of Kâbul. The enmity between mortals and Eblis, as well as between the

[54] Qurân. ch. ii. 34

[55] In this passage, by Serandib, Adam's Peak in Ceylon is meant, where the print of his foot is even in our times still shown to pilgrims.

sons of Adam and the serpent, will subsist till the day of resurrection. Adam took with him from paradise a bag full of wheat, and thirty plants of corn, likewise the black-stone,[56] and a handful of leaves from the trees of paradise. Jebrâil descended from heaven, taught him to sow, to reap, even to make flour and to bake bread. It is related by Ebn A'bbâs that Adam stayed in paradise from noon till sunset according to the reckoning of that world. Some affirm that five hundred years, according to the reckoning of our world, amount to half a day in that world. When Adam arrived on earth he was afflicted with the miseries of this world, and with sorrow for his separation from Eve; his repentance augmented, and he abstained during forty days from food and drink. During three hundred years he continued to lament and to pray for pardon, until he was inspired with the following words. 'There is no God besides Thee! Adoration and praise be to Thee! I have done evil and injured my own soul, have pity on me, for Thou art the most merciful of those who are merciful' After he had pronounced these words, Jebrâil brought the tidings of pardon, which changed Adam's distress into peace, and his misery into comfort, but despite of the glad tidings of forgiveness, he ceased not to be melancholy and ashamed:

Verse. Even after pardon, remorse abides.

Therefore he consulted Jebrâil on the propriety of acceptable worship by means of which the shame of sin, and the reproach of transgression, might be blotted out from the pages of his blessed mind. Meanwhile the command of

[56] This meteoric stone is set in silver and fixed in the south-east corner of the Ka'bah, or cubical temple of Mekkah Pilgrims kiss this stone with fervent devotion Tradition has it that this was one of the precious stones of paradise which fell down to the earth with Adam, and being taken up again, or otherwise preserved at the deluge, the angel Gabriel brought it back afterwards to Abraham when he was building the Ka'bah. The stone is said to have been originally of a dazzling white colour, but to have turned black in consequence of the sins of mankind, but Europeans who have seen and closely examined it declare that it is simply a meteoric stone, *i.e.*, aerolite, which had in early times fallen from the sky

God—w. n. b. pr.—was issued to Adam to build the Ka'bah—may Allah ennoble it. He accordingly wished to lay its foundation, and proceeded from Serandib in the company of Jebrâil, who facilitated his journey across deserts, and by the prosperity of that lord's [*i.e.* Adam's] progress, every country touched by his foot became civilized, cultivated, and wearing a happy and joyous aspect. When they arrived in the noble city of Mekkah, Adam laid the foundations of the Ka'bah according to the instruction received from Jebrâil, and with the aid of all the angels. He fixed the Black Stone, which he had brought from paradise, and in which the covenant book of the servant with the Lord of Glory is deposited, in a corner of the Ka'bah; and this house on earth is a symbol of the preserved tabernacle which is in heaven. Having learnt the ceremonies of the pilgrimage and of the circumambulation from Jebrâil, he then performed the visitation of the house of the Ka'bah, after terminating which, he ascended Mount A'rafat [57] in search of Eve, whom he had not seen for years, and the fervent desire of again meeting her had overwhelmed his mind. It so happened that Eve had likewise started from Jeddah [58] in search of Adam, and ascending Mount A'rafat had arrived near him, but remained unknown on account of the change of her complexion brought on by exposure to the sun. Jebrâil brought about their mutual recognition, wherefore that mountain obtained the name of A'rafat. After having enjoyed each other's company in that place, they asked and obtained permission from the Almighty Creator to return to Serandib, because the soil of Mekkah was very arid, and its climate extremely hot. After accomplishing the journey, both arrived in Serandib, where Adam occupied himself with the extraction of iron ore from the mines, and with agriculture. Jebrâil communicated to them the divine ordinances, and enjoined them to receive God's commands, and to endeavour to

[57] The meaning of A'râfat is 'she knew,' because on this mountain Eve recognised Adam.

[58] Jeddah means 'grandmother.' It is the well-known seaport in the Red Sea where pilgrims land for Mekkah.

multiply their species, so that the tree of humanity might bear pleasant and noble fruits, since dominion over all creatures, and the enjoyment of all intellectual and sensuous impressions, were to be the lot of the children of men. After Adam and Eve had again become united, they spent their days in comfort and obedience, sometimes dwelling in India and sometimes in Arabia. For a long time there were no inhabitants in the world besides them, nor any houses besides the Ka'bah, till the Almighty gladdened those two individuals with a sagacious progeny who colonized various places of the world. Concerning the erection of the Ka'bah, there are also other opinions besides the one narrated in these pages.

Story of Habil and Qabil (Abel and Cain).

The Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—has said: 'Relate unto them also the history of the two sons of Adam with truth. When they offered their offering, and it was accepted from one of them, and was not accepted from the other.'[39]

The stringers of the pearls of words, and the narrators of stories old and new, have related that every time Eve became pregnant she was delivered of a boy and girl. The first child born of her was Qabil (Cain), with his twin sister Aqlemia, the second was Habil (Abel), with his sister Labûda. When these children attained the age of maturity, Adam, by the command of God—w. n. b. pr.—desired to marry Labûda to Qabil and Aqlemia to Habil, but as Aqlemia was extremely beautiful, Qabil refused, and said that he would not allow his twin sister to be subject to anyone; reproached his father for loving Habil more than himself, and for being on that account desirous to give him Aqlemia. Adam replied: 'I act thus in conformity with the information brought by Jebrâil, and not for the sake of the strong love which I bear towards Habil, and because it is incumbent upon worshippers to obey their Lord, whose name be exalted.' Qabil was of an obstinate and litigious

[39] Qurân, ch. v. 30, and Genesis, ch. iv.

temper, and his father's entreaties proved of no avail. At last Adam said: '*Do* you both offer *sacrifice*, and he whose offering is accepted shall obtain Aqlemia.'

It was customary when two individuals were at enmity to carry eatables to the top of a mountain, and to deposit *them there*; whereon a white fire descended from heaven, and first approaching the individual who was right in the matter, it afterwards turned to his sacrifice and consumed it *totally*. When Adam hinted at the sacrifice both brothers agreed to it, and Habil, who was a shepherd, brought a fat sheep; Qabil, who was a farmer, placed a sheaf of wheat on the mountain, but at the same time resolved not to yield his sister to anyone, whether his offering was accepted or not; Habil, on the other hand, openly and secretly resigned himself to the judgment of the Creator. When the fire descended by the prayer of the Lord Adam from the sky, it first approached Qabil and his sacrifice, but touched it not Then it sped to Habil's oblation, and entirely devoured it. In consequence thereof the depravity of envy and hatred so overpowered Qabil that he threatened to slay Habil. The latter, however, replied: 'God—w. n. b. ex—receives the offering of the pious, and *if thou stretchest forth thy hand to murder me*, I shall offer no resistance, because I dread the Omnipotent Nourisher of the inhabitants of the world.' When enmity had thus openly broken out between the brothers, Adam said to them: 'Do not distress me, but wait for my return from the house of Allah,[(a)] which He has commanded me to visit.' After Adam's departure on his pilgrimage, Qabil was watching for an opportunity, until one day he found Habil on the top of a mountain asleep, and, at the instigation of Satan, struck him such a blow on the head with a stone that he will not awake until the day of the resurrection. This dreadful crime remains on record against Qabil. May Allah reward him with the worst of rewards. Not knowing what to do with his brother's body, so as to remove it out of sight, Qabil was carrying it about for

[(a)] The Ka'beh is meant.

several days, until the Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—incited two crows to fight with each other, and one of them having been slain in the contest, the other buried it underground. Qabil perceived this, and said: 'Woe is me! am I unable to be like this raven?'[a] He then concealed his brother's corpse under the ground. When Adam had performed the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, he returned, but found the world not to be in its usual state, because the trees had become yellow [*i.e.* withered] from the darkness of tyranny; the victuals had changed their savour, the fruits had become sour, the waters bitter, and the surface of the earth was impure. From these signs he concluded that something dreadful must have happened. When, on the termination of his journey, he arrived home, Qabil came to meet his father, who asked: 'Where is Habil?' But the murderer replied: 'Was I his surety or his keeper,[b] that thou requirest him from me? His sheep have often devastated my fields, and for fear of this he has fled.' Adam —u. w. bl., etc.—understood the state of the case from these words, and in some books it is recorded that Jebrâil had informed him of what had befallen Habil. At any rate, he began to deplore the loss of his beloved son. Habil was the most sagacious and intelligent of Adam's sons. His father was extremely fond of him, and in his memory composed an elegy in the Syriac tongue, distributed it among all his children, and commanded them to learn it by heart, bequeathing it to all succeeding generations. These verses have also been translated into Arabic, and as they are well known, the two first lines are here inserted.

Verses: Changed is the country and everything therein;
The face of the earth has changed for the worse.[c]

When Adam the pure—u. w., etc.—had fulfilled the duties

[a] Qurân, ch. v 34.
[b] Genesis, ch. iv. 9: 'Am I my brother's keeper?'
[c] Curiously enough, this poem is given also by Al-Masu'di in his 'Meadows of Gold,' edited in Arabic and translated into French by Barbier de Meynard and Pavet de Courteille. In the portion of this work translated into English by Aloys Sprenger, M.D., it is mentioned in pp. 64 and 65.

of mourning, he cursed Qabil, who became estranged from mankind and associated with no one. He fled from everyone he saw; he roamed about on mountains and in deserts, killing mountain-goats by throwing stones at their heads, and eating their flesh. It is said that this is the reason why wild animals run away at the sight of men. In many historical books it is related that when Adam's time of lamentation for Habil had expired, the divine command to retaliate upon Qabil reached him. Adam informed Qabil of it, but the latter avoided it [*i.e.* retaliation] by taking refuge in the deserts of Yemen, where he remained during his whole life, worshipping fire and building fire-temples, because Satan had informed him that his sacrifice had not been accepted, as Habil had secretly worshipped fire, which had therefore obeyed him and consumed his offering. Qabil became a follower of Satan, and his offspring increased greatly in that country; they began to invent and to play upon musical instruments, to drink wine and to do shameful things. It is related that a short time after Habil's death and Qabil's flight to Yemen, the Lord and Giver of all good gifts betowed Shath [Seth] upon Adam, as will be narrated by-and by.

Record of Adam's Progeny and of his Prophecy.

It is related in the history entitled 'Bedayet we Nihayet' [the beginning and the end] that Adam went every year on pilgrimage to the holy city of Mekkah for the purpose of circumambulating the Ka'bah, and performing all the required ceremonies. Once when he had fulfilled all his duties he fell asleep in the rear of A'rafat, called Vâdi of No'mân, where the Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—produced the entire progeny from his loins, and placed them all at Adam's right and left side.[64] When he awoke he glanced to his right side, and beheld luminous individuals, and also Jebrâil; he interrogated the latter about them, and was

[64] Qurân, ch. vii. 171: 'And when thy Lord drew forth their posterity from the loins of the sons of Adam,' etc.

informed that these were the companions of the right hand, and the Cherubim of the palace of monotheism [originating] from the seed of Adam. At that moment the divine allocution arrived: 'These are in paradise.' When Adam looked at the company on his left side, he beheld those pertaining to darkness, and again asked Jebrâil: 'Who are these?' He replied: 'These are the companions of the left hand excluded from the mercy of Allah.' And then another announcement arrived from Allah, namely. 'These are in fire.' It is related that when the descendants of Adam were presented to him, his eyes alighted on a youth among the companions of the right hand who was of beautiful countenance and symmetrical in stature. He was weeping, and this reminded Adam of his own sorrow when he was expelled from paradise. On questioning Jebrâil, he replied: 'This is one of thy celebrated descendants; his name is David. He is weeping on account of sin, and will be a prophet.' Adam inquired about the length of his life, and was informed that its duration would be sixty years. Hereupon Adam turned his face towards the altar of prayer, saying: 'O Lord, take away forty years from my life, and add them to his life.' His prayer was granted, and David's life was decreed to consist of one hundred years. When Adam had attained the age of nine hundred and sixty years, A'zravil visited him to execute the business wherewith he had been entrusted. Adam said: 'It is not yet time to take my soul, because, according to the divine promise, forty years of my life still remain.' A'zrayil replied: 'Thou hast bestowed forty years of thy life upon David.' This Adam denied, and on reporting the circumstance at the Court of Glory, A'zrayil was ordered not to molest Adam before the expiration of the above-mentioned time, nor to deduct any from the appointed hundred years of David. After Adam had thus repented of his gift, the Beneficent King issued a decree that the children of men should henceforth in their grants and transactions make use of documents and contracts with the signature of witnesses, so that no one

could afterwards resort to subterfuges; and if they did so they should not be listened to at all.

It is narrated in the history of Tabari, and in that of Hâfez Abru, that the vision which Adam had of all his descendants took place when he was asleep in the Vâdi of No mân. It is, however, admitted by all that after beholding his entire offspring, he manifested a desire of returning to his usual abode, when suddenly the inspiration and divine command reached him to proceed to Yemen, and to direct Qabil, his children, and his followers, to the right road, and to restrain him from walking in the paths of sin and wickedness. Accordingly Adam travelled to their habitations, and preached to Qabil and to his adherents, who had adopted the religion of idolatry, and considered the drinking of wine and the worship of idols to be licit. Adam performed signs and miracles as is the wont of prophets, and converted many of his own and some of Qabil's descendants, but the remainder continued to walk in obstinacy, sin and infidelity, and were thus condemned for ever to walk in perdition.

Record of the Removal of Adam—w. n. b. bl.—from the Dunghill of Affliction to the Gardens of Paradise.

When one thousand years of Adam's life had elapsed, the season had arrived for the diploma of his life to be stamped with the signet of, 'When their fate comes, they will not be respited an hour, nor hurried'; and the fore-ordained decree was to be sealed with the ring of, 'All which is upon it [*i.e.* the earth] is perishable.' Resigning himself to the will of heaven, he ordered all his sagacious children and noble relatives to assemble. When they were all present he commanded them to obey the Merciful and the Clement [Allah], and warned them not to follow Satan. He appointed Sheth, who was the most intelligent and beautiful of his children, to be his successor and their governor, and feeling a desire for the oil and olives of paradise, he despatched him to Mount Sinai to implore

the most Beneficent of Benefactors to grant him his wish. Sheth fulfilled his commission, and, raising his hands in prayer, said: 'O Lord! Thy servant Adam is sick, and his mind covets the oil and olives of paradise.' After this ejaculation he heard the words, 'Bring thy pitcher,' and, holding forth his earthen vessel, it was in a moment filled with what Adam's heart desired; and, returning from Mount Sinai, he offered it to his father, who anointed his body with the oil, and partook of the olives. His malady then abated, but in a short time again returned; and when Adam was sorely afflicted therewith he said to his children: 'The craving for the fruits of paradise has again overpowered me. Go bring me some.' They obeyed, and when they had proceeded a short way on their journey they met Jebrâil with a company of angels, bearing a shroud and coffin. The angels interrogated the children of men, who informed them of their intention. Jebrâil said: 'Return! for we have come to fulfil his wishes and his desires.' The children accordingly went back, and perceived angels sitting with Adam, whom Jebrâil asked about his health, and he replied: 'The violence of pain has so overcome me that I am unable to rise to say my prayers.' Eve sat behind him and wept, whereon Adam said to her: 'Go out from here, and leave me to the messengers of the Omnipotent Nourisher, because all the misfortunes I ever endured have befallen me through thee.' Hereupon Eve and her daughters went aside, and A'zrayil was engaged in taking hold of Adam's soul, who was praising and adoring God. At that time Jebrâil said to the angel of death: 'Take this poor soul gently and easily, for thou knowest well Adam to be the individual whom the Almighty has created with the hand of His power, has breathed His own spirit into him, has ordered us to worship him, and has appointed him to the chief place in paradise.' When the angel of death had terminated his business, Jebrâil put a robe on Adam, after which he performed the ablution and shrouding of the corpse. According to the most current tradition, his grave was dug on Mount

Abuqbis,[65] where the angels, Eve, the sons and daughters of Adam, ranged themselves. According to the most approved records, Jebrâil made Sheth stand in front of himself while he recited the prayers over the corpse, which was then placed into the grave and covered with earth. On that occasion Jebrâil said to the children of Adam: 'If you act according to the advice of your father, you will never go astray. You ought to know that death can be avoided by no one. What you have seen done by us with reference to washing and shrouding the corpse and saying prayers, do so likewise with all your dead bodies, for such is the command of God. You shall not see these angels any more till the hour of the resurrection. Now farewell.'

Postscript to the Story of the Father of Mankind, U. W. B. Bl., etc., and a Record of the Good and Evil that befell Him.

This appendix is divided into several paragraphs, the contents of which have been found worth recording by historians as matters of interest and knowledge.

Explanation of his Names and Surnames.

The author of the 'Lutayif-ul-ma'aruf' has related that since the blessed form of Adam was fashioned of the *Adim* of the earth, *i.e.* of its surface, he was called Adam. Others inform us that Adam was wheat-coloured, and therefore named Adam, according to which meaning the word would be derived from *Adama*. Others, again, are of opinion that the name Adam may have originated from the expression *Adamat*, which means, 'she united the two things when she was created between them,' but He [*i.e.* Allah] knows best.

Being of a very upright character, Adam was surnamed 'the pure one of God,' and the 'father of mankind,' because he was our common ancestor. Allah—w. n. b. ex.—said, 'It is He who created you from one breath [or

[65] Near Mekkah.

individual, *i.e.* Adam], and He created from it its [or his, *i.e.* Adam's] spouse.' It is recorded in the book of Edris [Enoch?] that the inscrutable Creator wished in the first creation to extend the surface of His power over the earth, and created first a man from the soil, whose name is called *Armanûs* in the Syriac language. At that time He created from his [*i.e.* the man's] breath a consort for him to be his wife, and by means of this intercourse He originated connexion and parturition, and until the hour of the resurrection, when the second creation will begin, all the affairs of this world are but a sequence of that first arrangement. Thalebi says that Adam, being questioned by the angels about Eve's name, he replied: Since Eve [Havva] is a member of my members, and was created by Him who is living [Hay] from all eternity, she was thus named.'

RECORD OF THE BEARDS OF THE CHILDREN OF ADAM.

Muhammad Bin Esahâq says that Adam had no beard, and that Sheth was the first of his sons who had thus been adorned. Adam was of high stature, had curling ringlets, a brown complexion, and was distinguished by superior beauty from all other creatures in the world. There is a difference of opinion concerning the height of Adam's body, but some of the Emâms have a tradition from the lord of prophecy [*i.e.* Muhammad] that he affirmed Adam's stature to have been sixty cubits high; doctors of theology have augmented and diminished this number, but the edict of the Emâms is authentic, and the features of Eve perfectly resembled those of Adam.

THE TEACHING OF NAMES.

Some expounders affirm that the Almighty—w. n. b. ex.—had taught Adam the names of all things of this world, even so far as those of dishes and plates. Others say that the knowing of names is a metaphor of the names of angels; others, again, sa that God taught him various

languages. One of the followers[66] states that this knowledge implies an acquaintance with the revealed books[67], and predestined events, some say that the science of the peculiar properties of all things is meant; many other views are also current, but the true knowledge is with Allah.

Record of afflictions.

In several histories it is mentioned that when Adam hastened to eat of the fruit from the prohibited tree, the Almighty punished him with ten misfortunes:

1 He reproved him saying: 'Have I not forbidden that tree to both of you, and said to you that Satan is your evident enemy?'

2. By putting him to shame among the inhabitants of paradise, in consequence of the exposure of his nudity.

3 By changing his outward freshness. One of the followers states that before Adam's transgression his skin was polished like the nails, but after sinning it all disappeared, and only a little remained on the tips of his fingers to augment his remorse every time he looked at them

4. By surnaming him 'after propinquity,'[68] and expelling him from the mansions of paradise.

5 By afflicting him during two hundred, and, according to others, during three hundred years with separation from Himself [i e from Allah]

Distich The heart experienced many trials in this world,
But found none harder than separation from the Friend
[i e. Allah]

6 By causing discord between Adam and Eve, who instigated him to eat of the [forbidden] fruit, according to

[66] The original has *Tábi*, which is the title of those who succeeded after the *Suhaba*, or immediate companions of Muhammad.

[67] Literally, books sent down from heaven, which, according to Moslem belief, are four, viz, the Pentateuch, the Psalms, the Gospels and the Qurân, the last of which alone had not been falsified.

[68] This is the meaning of *ba'd jorâr*, implying that after having been near to God he became an outcast.

the words: 'We threw among them enmity and hatred till the day of the resurrection,' and this quality took effect on their progeny.

"7. By surnaming him a sinner, and by publishing the report of 'Adam rebelled against his Lord and went astray' among the inhabitants of the world. It is related of Ebrahim, the friend [of God], that he prayed to the Lord of Glory to explain to him the mystery of these words, whereon the announcement came: 'For I have known that the opposition of a lover towards a lover is a terrible affair.'

8. By appointing Satan and his progeny, who are the true enemies of mankind, to reign over Adam and his offspring, and to stretch forth their arms of oppression according to the verse, 'And draw upon them thy horse and foot.'

9. By making the base world an abode of trial to the sons of Adam, and afflicting him and his seed with the troubles thereof.

10. By punishing him with various fatigues, and causing him to drink the unpalatable beverage of this inconstant world, which after all betrays man.

Verses: The world, according to its name, is leaping;*
Intellect has called it vanity.
Happy is he who, from the racecourse of spirits,
Has not descended into the arena of bodies.

DESCRIPTION OF PARADISE.

From historical accounts it appears that there is a variety of opinions among Muhammadan divines on the site of paradise, many of whom, especially some of the companions and followers of the prophet, such as Abu Harira, Hodaifa Alyamani, and Abu Mâlek Ush-shujáyi—u. w. b., etc—assert that the paradise of Adam was the paradise of promise. Some, again, such as Abdullah Bin Abbâs—u. w. b., etc.—and others, say that it was not the

* This is a play on the word *jehân*, which means 'world,' and also 'leaping.'

paradise of promise.[70] Firstly, because in that garden he was prohibited to touch the forbidden tree; secondly, because in it he was occupied, he slept, and reposed; thirdly, because Eblis found admittance to that place: consequently, it is impossible that it should have been the paradise of promise. With this opinion also agrees the text of the Pentateuch, which Jewish scholars have preserved from generation to generation up to the present day. Between the adherents of the second opinion there is again a schism whether this paradise was in heaven or on earth. Some maintain that it was in heaven, since God commanded Adam to get down, which undoubtedly points to the descent from heaven. Ebn Yahia, who is one of the greatest scholars, asserts, with another party, that it was on earth, since the Almighty tried Adam and Eve by commanding them not to eat of the forbidden fruit; therefore that garden was a locality prepared by the Lord of Glory in order to tempt them. It is asserted that the tradition handed down from the refuge of prophecy [*i.e.* Muhammad] concerning Adam's departure from this world is confirmatory of this opinion. The tradition resembles the one narrated above, and is as follows. When the time of Adam's death drew near, he asked his children to bring a bunch of grapes of paradise. They complied with his request, and while they were on the road they met some angels, who questioned them about their errand. The children replied: 'Our dear father wishes to eat a bunch of the grapes of paradise, and in obedience to his will we have started.' The angels said: 'Return; for the Almighty—w. n. b. ex.—has completed His business.' When the children returned, they found that Adam was being shrouded and buried. From this account it appears that if the children of Adam had not been able to enter paradise, they would not have gone in search of its grapes.

The Emâm Abul-Hasan Fariâbi has recorded, in the book entitled 'Asul Jâmi'a,' that the paradise of Adam was in the country of Filisteen [in Syria], and it was a garden

[70] Or 'Garden of Abode,' the Arabic expression is *jennet-ul-mâwa.*

containing many green shrubs; and this confirms it [that Adam was in the terrestrial paradise], because he was commanded and prohibited. But command and prohibition take place only in this world, and that which his lordship the Qâzi Nassir-ud-din Beidhavi has opied from the Mutazzelite U'lamâ concerning paradise agrees with the just-mentioned opinion. It is related in the book entitled Ihvân-ussafa,' in the twenty-first treatise, which is called the 'Treatise of the Animate Being,' that when [the person of] Adam was completely finished, and the angels worshipped him, the divine command was issued to translate his splendid couch to paradise, and that paradise was a garden situated on the top of the ruby mountain in the direction of the east; it was so high that neither man nor beast could ascend it; the climate of that garden was temperate, and the same throughout the year; it was unparalleled in freshness and verdure, and one of the principal poets says concerning it:

Verses: Adam promenaded in a garden whose
Servant and slave is the spring of paradise.
Its trees were lignum aloe, its leaves of emerald,
Its foundation Concha Veneris, its earth ambergris.
A deep lake in the parterre of the park
Clear like the heart of a sage, and nature of an orator,
Pure like a spirit and beauteous like knowledge;
Its atmosphere pellucid, and subtle like fire,
Silver-bodied fishes sporting in it
Like the virgin moon in the celestial sphere.

The partisans of the just-mentioned opinion have affirmed that the command, 'Get ye all down from hence,' is synonymous with the words, 'Get ye down into Egypt, for ye shall obtain what ye ask;' and many opinions like these have been broached by eloquent authors. But the writer of this book affirms that such of the preceding opinions as are in accordance with the orthodox belief of the Sonna[71] are to be adopted, because salvation is in them.

[71] Sometimes translated 'practice,' and sometimes 'theory.' The Sonna is that which was constantly practised by the prophet. An extensive definition from the 'Kitâb utta'rifât' is given in Freytag's Arabic Lexicon, and also on pp 78-79 of the Rev. Henry Martin's 'Controversial Tracts.' See also 'Leben und Lehre Muhammad's,' by Aloys Sprenger, M.D.

THE LAW OF THE BOOK [OF ADAM].

The law of Adam prescribed the worship of Allah, prayers, fasting, abstinence from wine and pork, and the opinion that wine was first made in Jamshid's time is not deserving of any credit. His book [*i.e.* Adam's] contained forty pages, some say twenty-one. It treated on the secrets of natural philosophy, the knowledge of useful and noxious things, medicine, the way of subjecting Jinns and devils, geometry, arithmetic, and other sciences.

MIRACLES.

It has been mentioned before that when Qabil separated from his father and went to the country of Yemen, Eblis instructed him in fire-worship, which he and his children adopted. They built fire-temples, and were engaged in worshipping fire. At that time the divine inspiration reached Adam, commanding him to go among them, and to direct Qabil, with his offspring, to the true way, as has already been mentioned above. Adam went to Yemen, and, having announced his mission, his descendants demanded a miracle from him, whereupon he started water for them from gravel-stones; on another occasion he called a tree at a distance to approach him, which obeyed and came to him; thirdly, a handful of gravel which he held in the palm of his hand bore testimony to the truth of his prophetship. One of the numerous miracles worked by him to prove his mission to Qabil was that he prohibited wild beasts from injuring his children, whereon they ceased to attack them. He also miraculously traversed deserts and seas; but if all his wonderful performances were to be related, they would greatly lengthen this account.

RECORD OF THE SCIENCES AND TRADES THAT ORIGINATED IN HIS TIME.

These were geometry, medicine and music, and the trades were agriculture, weaving and spinning. It is said that these were invented by the efforts of Dubâil and

Qayin, the sons of Lamekh, whose genealogy ascends to Qabil, and they acquired celebrity; but He [*i.e.* Allah] knows best the true state of things.

Record of Adam's Death and the Number of his Children.

The death of the Lord Adam occurred on a Friday, in the holy city of Mekkah. Eve departed this life one, and according to other reports seven, years after him; she was buried by the side of Adam, who did not die before he had seen four thousand of his children and descendants The number of his own progeny amounted to twenty males and as many females, but, according to more prevalent traditions, the latter were only nineteen In the preface to the '*Zafar nâmah*' it is related that he had twenty-one sons and twenty daughters It is well known that Sheth was born alone, Sheth is a Syriac word, and means 'gift of God' Sheth is also called the first Uriah, in Syriac he is called a teacher, because he was the first who engaged in teaching religious law and philosophy. It is said that Adam greatly deplored the loss of Habil, whereon Jebrâil descended and said: 'God will soon present thee with an intelligent son, from whose seed the prince of the sons of men will be born' Five years after the murder of Habil—from a regard for the light of Muhammad—Sheth was born alone. A number of historians have related that he was a grandson of Adam, and that his father's name was Supha, but this opinion we reject Muhammad Bin Jarir Tabari says that all the genealogies of the sons of men terminate in him, because the seed of man was totally cut off in the time of Nûh (Noah), u w. b bl Sheth perfectly resembled Adam in the beauty of his countenance and in his many virtues. He was his favourite son, and it is said that some time before his decease Adam appointed him his successor, and taught him the hours of the day and of the night, so that man may know what worship is required during each He also admonished him not to have intercourse with the children of Qabil, and

informed him of the impending deluge, ordering him, in case he should survive till that time, to take care of Adam's bones, or to enjoin his children to do so. Sheth reigned over men and genii, his religion agreed with that of Adam, and the Almighty—w. n. b. ex.—sent him fifty pages, but according to others twenty-nine; they contained mathematical, philosophical, and theological sciences, alchemy and others. He spent most of his life in Syria, and, according to some, he was even born in that country. It is related that most of the sons of Sheth were addicted to solitude; avoiding the society of men, and striving after higher things, they engaged in the service of God. In Sheth's time the inhabitants of the world were split into two sections, one following him and the other the sons of Qabil, whom he admonished; some of them followed his advice, but others continued in sin; and when nine hundred and twelve years of his age had elapsed, his spirit fled to the throne of grace. The following are some of his sayings: The relation of a king to his subjects is like the relation of the soul to the body; in the same way as the soul does not neglect the body for a single moment, so the king must not forget the care of his subjects even during the twinkling of an eye, in order that they may remain obedient to him. A king who hoards wealth by tyranny acts unrighteously, because the accumulation of treasures can become possible only by keeping the country in a state of prosperity. If a sovereign is even during one day negligent in caring for his subjects, so much detriment will accrue that he will be unable to make it good in one month; indeed, sometimes such mischief ensues that it can never be remedied. It is incumbent on a king to cherish scholars, because this will be an occasion of increase to his virtues; he must also be distinguished by polite manners, adorned with foresight and with patience in his misfortunes; he must abstain from all improper acts; and, lastly, he must remember that an intimate friend is more valuable than even a brother, who covets his inheritance.

Record of Anûsh [Enos], the Son of Sheth.

He is also called Arûs; historians differ whether his mother belonged to the human species or to that of the genii; it is recorded in the book entitled 'Arâyis' that she was a huri,[73] whom Allah—w. n. b. e.—had created without the intervention of a father or mother, and had presented to Sheth. When the time of Sheth's death approached, he enjoined Anûsh to take the reins of solving and knotting human affairs into his hands. In the Nizâm-ut-tavârikh' it is stated that Anûsh lived six hundred years, and was a good sovereign. Tabari says that he lived nine hundred years.

Record of Qenân [Cainan], the Son of Anûsh.

According to the testament of his father, the government of mankind devolved upon him. In this responsible office he continued nearly four hundred years, and never swerved from the straight path of his fathers and ancestors. In the history of Hâfez Abrû it is related that his life lasted eight hundred years.

Record of Mahallayil [Mahalaleel], Son of Qenân.

In consequence of his father's will, he became the sovereign of the inhabitants of the world, who had increased in his time to such numbers that they injured each other; therefore he distributed them over the world, and went with the children of Sheth to the country of Babel, where he built the city of Sûs. Before that time the people used to live in caves and deserts. Some say he lived nine hundred and eight years.

Record of Bard [Jared?], Son of Mahallayil.

His name is also written Byrd. In his time idolatry originated, and people began to worship graven images Some say that wicked custom began after the time of

[73] A virgin of paradise.

Edris, u. w. b., etc., as will be related below in detail. The Almighty Bestower of gifts vouchsafed him intelligent children, one of whom was Ekhnûh, or Enoch. Bard lived nine hundred and sixty years in this world.

Record of Edris [Enoch] the Prophet, u. w. b., etc.

His birthplace was Manaf [Memphis] in Egypt, and in the phraseology of philosophers he is surnamed the third Uriah. In Hebrew his name is Ekhnûh, and Khunûh. Among the Greeks he is known by the name of Batrismin and Aursin. The Arabs call him Hermes Edris almuthulluth bilni'mat [who enjoys three graces]. From studying and investigating diligently the books of his ancestors he was surnamed Edris. Hermes means Mercury, and the epithet grace [ni'mat] alludes here to prophecy and philosophy. It is related that in the beginning he was a disciple of Gâzimûn, one of the prophets sent to the inhabitants of Greece and Egypt. Gâzimûn means 'fortunate,' and also the second Uriah. It is said that when the children of Qabil were seduced by Eblis from the straight path into the abyss of infidelity and idolatry, and abolished the institutions of marriage, and became addicted to wickedness and abominations, the Almighty—whose name be glorified—invested Edris with the robe of prophecy, sent him to them, and allowed him to work miracles, so that many were brought over from infidelity and obstinacy to the mansion of peace and rectitude, and having been delivered from the toils of misery, they obtained the asylum of felicity; whilst another section of that community continued to walk in the paths of wickedness because of the hardness of their hearts, and the preaching of Edris took no effect upon them. It is narrated in the 'Tarikh-i Hukmâ' that he invited mankind in seventy-two ways,[73] laid the foundations of a hundred towns, and estab-

[73] This may be an allusion to the seventy-two sects of the Muhammadan religion, which are presumed still to exist, and to be capable of salvation. Further on it will appear, from the biography of David, that seventy-two notes issued from his throat, this being a favourite number with the Moslems.

lished precepts in all countries suitable to their inhabitants, all of whom, as well as those who dwelt in islands, obeyed him. He appointed four men to be his vice-gerents in the world. These were: Ayallaos, and his father Laos, Asqalenus, and Amon. He invited people to the true religion, which is monotheism, to deal justly, to pray, and to leave off superstitions, which precepts lead to eternal salvation. He also ordered prayers and fastings on certain appointed days according to his law, and likewise to wage war for the sake of religion, and to bestow alms. He prohibited the eating of swine, of ass, and of dog flesh; also that of pot-herbs, and of things injurious to the brain, such as intoxicating plants and drugs. He ordained the offering of sacrifices at sunset, on beholding the new moon, on the arrival of a planet in its own mansion, or when culminating, etc. He was the first who practised astronomy, gave names to the planets, and to the signs of the zodiac, determinated their culminations, right ascensions, aspects, etc. He introduced writing and tailoring, and also established the custom of attacking and imprisoning infidels. It is related in the 'Kassass Jehâni' that Edris was very abstemious and ascetical, praying to God twelve thousand times every day. He was quite conversant with celestial things, and enjoyed constant intercourse with angels. The translation of the book 'Ihvân-ussafa' relates that Edris said: 'I was revolving around the skies with Saturn for thirty years, and have become acquainted with the truths and niceties of the upper regions, and have ascertained the secrets of the invisible world.' It is related in the 'Tarikh-i Hukmâ' that Edris had informed his people about the number of prophets who would be sent after him, and also of the deluge that would happen in Nûh's [Noah] time. According to the opinion of the majority of historians, he induced one of the mighty men of his monarchy to build that pyramid of Egypt which is known by the name of *Gunbuzahrâm*, for the purpose of preserving the tombs of his friends from the waters of the deluge. He himself left Egypt and travelled through the inhabited world, and

when he had again returned, the Most High exalted him to an elevated station. According to authentic tradition, he attained everlasting life in paradise. The state of the case, however, is this. Edris was always anxious to meet his Omnipotent Nourisher, was meditating on death, and the length of time he would have to remain underground until the period of the resurrection, and on the passage over the bridge Sirat.[74] His ardent desire was to enter paradise without the intervention of the events just alluded to. Day by day he became more fervent in prayer, and his good deeds exceeded the merits of all the people of this world who go to heaven like angels. When A'zrayil had become aware of this fact, a desire rose in him to associate with Edris, and after permission obtained from the Omnipotent Creator, he descended on earth and became his intimate friend; but as he abstained from eating and drinking, Edris soon perceived that he did not belong to the human species. Then A'zrayil revealed himself, and said 'I am the angel of death!' Whereupon Edris inquired whether he had come to take his soul. He replied: 'I have come to visit thee.' Then Edris besought him to make him taste the beverage of death. A'zrayil, having been allowed by the Lord of Glory to do so, took possession of his soul. Some assert that A'zrayil removed the soul of Edris to his nostrils, and then again to his body. Then Edris requested A'zrayil to show him hell, which he did after receiving due permission Afterwards Edris manifested a desire to behold paradise, and by the command of the Glorious Sovereign, he was seated on a wing of A'zrayil, and thus arrived in the seventh heaven, and lastly in paradise, where he spent an hour in contemplating the rivers, fruits, huris, palaces, and youths of that blessed abode. After some time A'zrayil wished to take Edris away from the garden, but Edris, who was aware of the state of affairs, and initiated into secrets, refused to comply,

[74] This bridge is finer than a hair, and all must pass over it. The wicked will fall from it into hell, but the good will cross it with ease, and will then enter paradise. It is the *Chinvat* bridge of the Zoroastrians.

and taking refuge near a tree, resisted all the invitations of his guide, saying: 'Unless the Creator of paradise and of hell removes me, I shall not quit this place.'

Meanwhile the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—sent an angel to arbitrate between them, who, after conversing with A'zrayil, asked Edris, who replied: 'Every soul shall taste of death.[75] I have eaten of the poison of the extinction of life, and, according to the edict, "There is none of you but will go down to it," I descended to hell; and, lastly, according to the command of the Most High and Glorious concerning the inhabitants of paradise, "And they shall not go out from it," I shall not go out merely because of A'zrayil's words until the Omnipotent Inscrutable One orders me to do so.' Then the divine announcement arrived: 'By my permission he entered, and by my permission he acted; leave him alone, for the right is on his side.' Some historians, such as Ka'b-ullâkhbâr[76] and others, have said that this is the meaning of the words: 'And we have raised him to a high place.' Others, again, have said that when Edris came out of paradise he began to worship God in the sixth heaven with the angels, and will continue to do so until the Lord's command, according to predestination, is issued to him. Some assert that when Edris went to heaven by the aid of the angel, he requested the Lord, who answers prayers, to send him back. Accordingly, his spirit was immediately separated from his body; it was conveyed to the heavenly temple, and he was appointed to worship God in the company of angels.

A Few Words more about Edris, u. w. b., etc.

Some have said that Edris was one hundred years old at the time of Adam's death; others say three hundred and sixty. Concerning the length of his life, there are also various opinions. It is related that he was sent to prophesy

[75] These words occur in three chapters of the Qurân, viz.: The Family of Imran, ch. iii. 182, The Prophets, ch. xxi. 36; The Spider, ch. xxix. 57. Comp. Matthew, ch. xvi. 28; Hebrews, ch. ii. 9.

[76] A brief notice of this individual is given further on in the Life of Muhammad.

two hundred years after the decease of Adam, and that he obtained thirty pages [of revelation]. His law agreed with that of Adam, his book contained the secrets of heaven, and the way of subjugating spiritual things, curious and wonderful sciences and arts, the knowledge of the nature of all existing things, etc. He preached one hundred and five, and according to others one hundred and eight years. But the Emâm, the sun of truth and of religion, Muhammad Bin Muhammad Shaharruzi, who is the author of the 'Tarikh-i Hukmâ,' which is in the possession of the writer, in the author's own handwriting, has narrated therein that Edris, having ascended to heaven after the termination of the eighty-second year of his life, obtained an exalted place; but Allah knows best.

PERSONAL APPEARANCE OF THE LORD EDRIS, U. W. B., ETC.

He had a handsome physiognomy, of a brown complexion, large moustache and beard, his stature was tall and symmetrical, with strong bones and little flesh. He spoke slowly, but was mostly silent, when he walked he looked down, and was always meditating something. When he spoke he moved the forefinger; and being once asked how a good opinion may be acquired among people, he replied: 'By dealing honestly and civilly with everybody.' The following are some of his maxims: The greatest blessings are three in number, namely, meekness in the time of anger, liberality in the time of dearth, and pardon in a powerful position. He is wise who despises not three classes of men, namely, kings, scholars, and friends: for whosoever is impudent to sovereigns will injure his own income, who despises scholars has deteriorated his own faith, and whoever esteems lightly his friends pulls out the shrub of politeness by the roots. An intelligent man ought to covet wisdom; he must not lament in a general calamity; the higher his dignity becomes, the humbler he must be; he must not rail at a man's faults, nor change at the increase of his own fortune. Call him

not perfectly wise who is not perfectly abstinent, and consider him not adorned with science who possesses not sound sense. An ignorant man will appear small to the eye of discernment, though he may be great to the eyes of the world, but with the learned the contrary is the case. Who settles in a place where there is neither a powerful king nor a righteous judge, neither a skilled physician nor a running brook, has no regard for his own life. Riches make a stranger a citizen, and poverty makes a citizen a stranger, which sentiments has been versified by Shekh Sa'di as follows:

Verses: A rich man is not a stranger in mountain, desert or solitude—
Wherever he goes he pitches his tent and makes a sleeping-place;
Whilst he who is destitute of the goods of this world
Must be in his own country a stranger and unknown.[77]

There are many sayings of Edris concerning advice and philosophy, a few of which have been given here as specimens. (*a*)

The Diabolical Suggestions of the Deceitful Eblis, in teaching the Friend of Edris to make Statues of Stone, and the Beginning of Idolatry among Men.

Historians have related that Edris—u. w. b., etc.—had, before his ascent to heaven, a friend on earth, who never separated from the company of his lordship the refuge of prophecy; and as substances are endowed with certain inseparable qualities, in the same manner, also, the said friend was never separated from the noble threshold, and after being deprived of the exalted society of Edris, he never ceased his lamentations, and was highly distressed. Eblis inquired about the cause of his misfortune, and was

[77] These couplets occur on p. 146 in the 'Gulistân, translated for and printed by the Kama Shastra Society in 1888.

(*a*) These lengthy details about Edris were probably obtained by Mirkhond from Arabian authors, who again obtained their information from the Talmud and other Rabbinical books. In Genesis, ch. v. 24, it is written: 'And Enoch walked with God, and he was not, for God took him.'

informed by the man that all his desolation and grief arose from the absence of Edris, and from the loss of the blessing and advantage of his company. Eblis said: 'If thou wilt, I shall make for thee a statue in the similitude of his person, and by associating therewith thou wilt become pacified.' The friend agreed, and Eblis constructed a figure representing Edris, at the sight of which the pain of having lost his former companion was diminished. He erected it in his house that no one might see it, and every morning and evening he visited it in order to blot out the rust of grief from the speculum of his mind. It happened that this man suddenly died in his house; as the people had not seen him for several days, they entered his dwelling, and, opening the door, found him dead near a statue, which fact greatly astonished them. On that occasion Eblis made his appearance among them in the shape of a man, saying: 'Edris and this man who was his friend worshipped this statue of the living God, and therefore their prayers were granted.' The fraud of Eblis took effect, and every one of the people fabricated an idol, and worshipped it. Thus idolatry spread in the world. Some have asserted that it originated when the children of Adam were guarding their father's corpse in a coffin, bearing it along wherever they went, and, according to Adam's command, not allowing Qabil or his children to behold it. Thus Satan got an opportunity to execute his deceit, and going to Qabil and his children he said 'If you think fit, I shall prepare for you a statue resembling the body of Adam, which will always remain with you.' They agreed, and Satan made the promised figure, which the children of Qabil placed into a coffin, and kept with them at home and abroad. In course of time every nation had a statue like the above, and after the lapse of years they by degrees commenced to worship these statues.

Others have said that after the decease of Edris there arose some pious men whose names were as follows: Wadd, Soowâ, Yaghuth, Ya'vuq and Nasser[78]; whenever

[78] These five are mentioned as Gods in the Qurân, ch. lxxi. 22: 'And they said, Forsake not your Gods; forsake not Wadd nor Soowâ,' etc.

one of them attained the mercy of Allah [*i.e.* when he died] his adherents fabricated a statue in his likeness for their consolation, and kept it in the house; when these adherents died, Satan persuaded their descendants that these statues were gods; they believed his words, and began to adore them. These idols having been lost in the deluge which happened during Nûh's time, Eblis again found them, and gave one to each tribe. Thus he presented Wadd to the Beni Kalb, Soowâ to the tribe Hozayil, Yaghuth to the tribe Mazhaj, Ya'vuq to the tribe Qoza'a, and Nasser to the tribe Hamyar. This despicable religion flourished until Islâm was established. There are also various opinions about the beginning of fire-worship, one of which has been narrated in the story of Qabil. Some maintain that the religion of ignolatry originated in Ebrahim's time, since Satan suggested to the people that the cause of Ebrahim's not having been injured by fire was because he had worshipped it.[79] Others assert that as God —w. n. b. e —threatened mankind with fire by means of the prophets, Satan said to the people: 'You ought to adore fire, then it would not burn you on the day of the resurrection.' From all these opinions, however, it does not appear when this blamable custom originated. Another party affirms that when Zartusht [Zoroaster] came forward with his pretensions to prophetship in the time of Gushtasp [Darius ?], and made a book called 'Zend' [Avesta], whence one who believes in it is surnamed Zendiq, he invited people to worship fire, saying: 'Whoever worships fire in this world, God—w. n. b e.—will not afflict him therewith in the next.'

Story of Harût and Marût.

Some historians have aid that when Edris attained felicity, according to the verse, 'And we raised him to an exalted station,' he became in the upper world an associate of angels, who mistook him for Adam, saying:

[79] How Ebrahim came out unscathed from the fire will be narrated further on.

'What seeketh the sinner among an assembly which never transgressed?' The Absolute Sage [*i.e.* God] did not approve of these words, and reproached them as follows: 'Had you been in the position of men you would have likewise sinned; and in order to cause this truth to become evident to all, I command you to select some of yourselves, whom I shall appoint to execute a certain business.' Then the inhabitants of the upper world chose the three following individuals: A'za, A'zaya, and A'zayil. The Lord commanded them to descend upon earth, and to rule the inhabitants thereof with rectitude; to participate with them in eating, drinking and in their appetites; to worship Him, but to kill no one unjustly, neither to drink wine, nor to commit adultery. The three angels agreed to all this. They arrived on earth, associated with mankind, occupied themselves by day in governing, and returned at night to heaven, stripping off their humanity when ascending, and re-assuming it when descending. One of the three intended to rebel, was therefore excused from reigning, and was at his own request again allowed to enter the ranks of the saints in heaven. The two remaining ones, who were surnamed Harût and Marût, remained on the throne of dominion and continued to rule. Meanwhile, a handsome female, unsurpassed in amenity and beauty, who was in Arabic called Zohra, in Syriac Nâhid, in Persian Beedukht,[80] came one day on business to these two angels. When they beheld Zohra's beauty they were inclined towards her, kept their desires concealed from each other, but ascertained her dwelling-place, and told her to return to it, and that after duly investigating her affair they would get it settled. She accordingly went to her house, and both the angels hastened to the same place, unknown to each other, anxiously endeavouring to meet her. They however, happened to meet each other at her door, and were thus forced to reveal their mutual aspirations. They asked Zohra for permission to enter, after obtaining which they began to declare to her their love. She replied:

[80] All these three are the names of the planet Venus.

'Your religion is different from mine; I shall not obey you until you worship my idol.' The angels replied: 'This culpable deed will never be committed by us, since the Most High never pardons the sin of associating [with Him] another in His worship.' Zohra continued: 'If you will not adore my idol, then teach me the ineffable name by the power of which you ascend to heaven.'[81] They again refused, whereon Zohra said: 'I have a pretty maid-servant; I shall give her to you instead of myself.' They said: 'We want thee! How could a person elect a substitute for one who has no equal?' Zohra continued: 'Some pure wine is at hand, if you drink some of that I shall comply with your wishes.' Harût and Marût agreed that this was the easiest thing of all she asked them to do. When they had partaken of the wine, and become intoxicated, they worshipped the idol and taught Zohra the ineffable name. At that time a man arrived among them and became aware of all that had happened. Zohra told them that this man knew their evil deeds, and that it would be best to kill him, lest he should put them to shame among the people. Harût and Marût arose, and in their drunkenness separated the head of that luckless individual from his body. Zohra then ascended to heaven by the power of the ineffable name she had learnt from them. After the base acts which Harût and Marût had committed, the Absolute Sovereign spoke thus to the angels. 'Have you seen the state of those elected by yourselves?' The angels replied: 'O Lord! Thou knowest thy servants best.' When Harût and Marût awoke from the sleep of their drunkenness they became convinced of their perdition, and began to weep. At that time Jebrâil, the faithful spirit, arrived from the Powerful Avenger, and taking part in their lamentations said: 'The Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—has given you the choice between the punishment in this or in the next world.' They replied: The misery of this world is transient, and will cease, but condemnation in the next

[81] The Jews pretended that the Lord Jesus had stolen this name from the temple, and had, by its power, worked all His miracles.

will last for ever; therefore we select punishment in this world.' Accordingly they were suspended upside down in the well of Babel, where they must remain till the day of the resurrection. Their most acute torment consists in their becoming from time to time a prey to carnal lusts to a degree which it is impossible to conceive. It has been related that Jebrâil has taught them a word which, if pronounced at a time lust is at its highest, will appease it.

In some histories it is narrated that a man, having acquired great proficiency in magic, died. His son was exceedingly anxious to learn this science, but was told by an old sorcerer to whom he had been directed that he could never do so unless he paid a visit to Harût and Marût. The said sorcerer conducted the youth to a cave situated between two mountains, and told him not to mention the name of Allah in the presence of these two. He agreed, whereon the old sorcerer beckoned to him to enter After proceeding a considerable distance in the cavern, the young man heard the roaring of a dreadful voice, and beheld two men suspended upside down from a gibbet; but when he saw their eyes shining like torches he lost his self-possession, and exclaimed 'No god but Allah, and Muhammad His prophet!' The two angels trembled at these words, saying: 'O young man! it is a long time since we have heard these words Do the inhabitants of the earth at present utter them?' The youth replied, 'Yes' They inquired for the reason of his coming, after hearing which they dissuaded him from learning sorcery, and said to him 'Our joy is near, for the resurrection is at hand.' The youth accepted their advice, and returned from that place repentant and sad. The strangeness of this narrative has caused its extension to this length.

Record of Nûh [Noah] the Confidant, O. W. B. P.

Chroniclers differ about the name of Nûh's father. Some call him Malak, and others Malakan, and Lâmak,[82]

[82] Comp. Genesis, ch. v. 28 and 29, about Lamech.

and Lálay also. Nûh was born one hundred and twenty-six years after the decease of Adam, when Leo was in the ascendant. Various opinions are current concerning the reason of his being called Nûh. According to some, Satan paid a visit to Nûh after the deluge had subsided, and said: 'O prophet of Allah, thou hast done me good service, and accomplished a matter impossible to me and to my assistants after the toil of many years.' Nûh asked: 'What is that, O enemy of Allah?' Eblis rejoined: 'Thou hast prayed to God to destroy all infidels at once, and to send them to hell.' Nûh repented of that prayer, and said: 'Would to God I had not done so!' After that he began to lament and to mourn; therefore he was called Nûh.[83] The learned have thus explained it in their books. Whilst writing this a doubt has occurred to the author, and he lays it before the reader as follows: Etymologists agree that Nûh is a foreign word, but that Nuha is Arabic; but as the latter is derived from the former, it must likewise be an Arabic, and not a foreign word. Allah—w. n. b. e.—knows best. Some call this blessed name Sâkun, and others Sâkub and Sakub; but according to current opinion Nûh is the first Uvlu-l-a'zm,[84] which means a prophet whose law superseded a former law. After Nûh had been sent he supplanted the commands of the book of Adâm by his own. It is reported that after the ascension of Edris wickedness and crime began to prevail in this corruptible world, and its inhabitants rebelled. In order to ameliorate and to arrange the condition of mankind, Nûh—u. w. b., etc.—was sent as a prophet after the expiration of two hundred and fifty years of his own life. Some historians have augmented or diminished this number, as will, if it pleaseth Allah—u. w. b. e.—appear

[83] The literal meaning of Nûh in Arabic is mourning, lamenting.

[84] Further on, in the 'Record of the Companion of the Fish' [Yûnas], it will be seen that this epithet is applied to him also. It occurs in the Qurân, ch. xlvi. 3. It is translated by Sale, *endued with constancy*, and by Rodwell, *endued with firmness*. According to the Qâmûs 'they [*i.e.* the Uvlu-l-a'zm] are the prophets who occupied themselves in the observance of the commands which Allah had ordained for them, such as Nûh, Ebrahim, Mûsa and Muhammad.'

from the appendix to the present narrative. It is certain that the sending of prophets and the establishing of laws are for the good of mankind, and for the purpose of saving them from the punishment and remorse certain to overtake them on the day of judgment; but nevertheless,

Distich: *If all creatures were to become infidels*
It would not in the least injure His magnificence.

In short, according to the history of Tabari, Nûh is said to have been sent by the Almighty—w. n b. p.—to Zohâk and to his followers, who were idolaters. In the 'Nizâm-ut-tavârikh' it is recorded that Ebrahim had been sent to Zohâk; but the best opinions are nearest to the truth, since according to the most correct accounts Kaium rth was the grandson of Nûh, and after several generations Zohâk attacked Jamshid, who was a descendant of Kaiumorth. It is recorded in some books that after all sorts of wicked and base acts had been committed by the children of Qabil, the Most High and Glorious God had sent Nûh to them. It is said that he was the first prophet who frightened people on account of their infidelity, and the first messenger at whose request a nation was destroyed, and the first person who will in the second creation raise his head from the earth after his lordship [Muhammad] the refuge of prophecy—u. w. b., etc.—will be he. No prophet was living contemporaneously with him. When the stature of Nûh's ability had been invested with the robe of prophecy, and the Almighty had despatched him to preach to the inhabitants of the world, he was engaged in guiding and directing them during nine hundred and fifty years.[85] A small company believed his words; though he suffered much persecution from the infidelity of those who went astray, he was patient and long-suffering in all his trials, and besought the Lord, saying: 'My God, direct the people, for they know not;' but the more he prayed for the amelioration of that race, the more their infidelity increased day by day, and no one minded his preaching or

[85] This is also said in the Qurân, ch. xxix. 13.

advice. They attributed his eloquence to sorcery and madness, and vied with each other in persecuting and deriding him; they pointed him out to their children, and attributed to him improper acts, enjoining them not to follow his law or religion. Thus once when he was preaching, a prominent individual of the people, whose name was Baqssi, went with his son Jarud to Nûh, and, taking the hand of the boy, commenced to admonish him, saying: 'My son! know that this fellow is a magician and a liar. Take care not to abandon the faith of thy ancestors, nor to be decoyed by his enticing words; endeavour rather to distress him as much as possible, for this is the command of our forefathers.' During this insulting speech that ill-fated boy took up a handful of earth and threw it into Nûh's face. His lordship complained thereof at the palace of the Most Gracious God, and received this reply: 'The keys of the hearts of our servants are in the treasury of our power, and no created being can accomplish any matter whatever without the aid of our grace previously vouchsafed. Do not be sad; for after all this long time nobody will believe except this company, which consists of the fewest of the few, and which has been ennobled by the honour of monotheism.' Nûh asked: 'O Lord, will none of the progeny of this nation believe?' Then the announcement came: 'The pen of the divine will has thus decreed that none of the descendants of these black-hearted ones should profess the unity of Allah according to the blessed verse, "And it was revealed unto Nûh: no one of thy people will believe except he who has already believed."' After despairing concerning the faith of the people, Nûh prayed for them, and one of his requests was this: 'Lord, do not sow or multiply infidels upon the earth.'[86] The prayer of his lordship reached the target of response, and the announcement arrived: 'Begin to construct the ship, for we shall destroy this miserable and foolish people by

[86] Qurân, ch. lxxi. 27, which Sale translates: 'Lord, leave not any families of the unbelievers on the earth'; Rodwell: 'Lord, leave not any of the unbelievers on earth.'

the rebellion of the water, which has hitherto been to them an occasion of life, and shall send them to the fire of hell.'

At the request of Nûh the people were afflicted with scarcity and dearth before the deluge arrived. In consequence of his prayers the custom of generation and parturition also ceased for several years among them. It is related that Jebrâil, having brought an ebony-tree, told Nûh to plant it, which he did. After twenty, and according to others, after forty years, when the wood of it had become large and strong, he felled and dried it; then he began, with his three sons and one other man, to build the ark in the desert near Kufah, under the instruction of Jebrâil. It is asserted by some that when he had despaired of converting the people, he desisted from preaching to them. The infidels likewise ceased gradually to distress him, but nevertheless occasionally grieved the mind of his lordship by way of derision. While he was engaged in cutting the planks for the ark the chiefs of the people looked on and railed at him, saying: 'O Nûh, after the dignity of a prophet thou hast attained that of a carpenter.' They also said to each other: 'See this fool who is with all diligence and solicitude preparing a ship, whereas there is no water anywhere!' Nûh retorted: 'Ye are unobservant of the reward of your works, and careless of the punishment to come; but after being in this world afflicted with drowning, and in the next subject to the punishment of burning, then sarcasm and pity will fall upon you for your own lot.'

When Nûh had completed [the building of] the ark, and had, after placing the beams and arranging the stories, coloured them with pitch and tar inside and out, the command arrived to him to construct a sarcophagus of boxwood wherein to preserve Adam's body, so that his august stature might not be injured when the floods were let loose, and the waters of the rains springs, and seas began to superabound. The wind was likewise ordered to assemble the different kinds of wild animals, birds, and all sorts of animate beings, a pair of each species of which, for the pre-

servation of their genus, Nûh was to put on board the ark till the waters subsided; others say that Jebrâil collected them, and Nûh acted according to the instructions he had received.

Meanwhile the command was issued from the Residence of Glory to the seven planets to hasten their motions; but according to another opinion they were ordered to assemble in one degree, yea, in one minute of the sign Cancer, which is the mansion of water and the horoscope of the world,[87] and to hasten to manifest the properties inherent in, and resulting from their congregation. Accordingly, the seven planets moved into the sign Cancer, and a short time after they had met there the waters began, in consequence of the prediction, to flow when the twenty-first degree was in the ascendant. On that occasion one of the believers in the unity of God went to Safardûs, the king of that nation, and, informing him of the state of the case, began to frighten him about the danger of drowning, and to advise him to fly. The king immediately mounted his horse, and, going to Nûh, asked him about this calamity Nûh replied: 'Alas! my king the command of thy Lord has arrived.' Safardûs became frightened and fled from that place. Nûh, however, and his followers amounting to eighty souls, entered the ark, wherein they remained sound and safe from the catastrophe of the deluge.

Hemistich What fear has he of the sea whose pilot is Nûh?

It is on record that Nûh's wife, Vaa'la by name, who was of a different religion, perished in the waves, and likewise his son Kana'an, according to some traditions called Avrayam and Râya, abstained from entering the ark, although Nûh admonished him, saying: 'O my son, embark with us.' But the latter replied: 'I shall repair to

[87] A horoscope in astrology is the degree or point of the heavens rising above the eastern point of the horizon at any given time when a prediction is to be made of a future event, such as the fortune of a person just born, the success of some projected scheme or undertaking, the weather, etc The same name is also given to a plan or figure, containing the twelve houses in which is marked the situation of the heavens and stars, in order to form predictions or calculate nativities, called drawing or constructing a horoscope.

the mountain, and it will protect me from the water.'[88] At that very moment a wave snatched him off from before his father, who became greatly distressed, and, opening his lips in prayer, said: 'O Almighty Nourisher, my son is of my own family, which Thou hast promised to save.' Immediately the allocution reached him: 'He does not belong to thy family, because improper acts and unrighteous deeds were committed by him.' It is well known to the discerning and cultivated minds of well-educated persons that noble descent is not esteemed by the intelligent if it be unadorned by the accomplishments of knowledge, and the decorations of prudence and laudable acts. In short, the waters of springs and fountains exundated beyond measure during forty days and nights, at the same time the rains poured down in such a manner that the whole became one vast ocean, covering the highest mountains by more than forty cubits.

Hemistich What is one spear length or a hundred if the head be surpassed?

The majority of historiographers narrate that, despite of this altitude of water, it covered only the knee-joints of A'vuj Bin A'nak, who was in the prime of youth.

Hemistich If the world be changed to a sea, it reaches only a duckling's breast.

It is said that A'vuj Bin A'nak was saved from the deluge in spite of his idolatry, because he had assisted Nûh—u. w. b., etc—in building the ark, which is said to have begun to move from Kufah, and on arriving at the honoured city of Mekkah it revolved seven times around the temple; then it passed over the whole world, and finally stopped, after five months, on the top of Mount Jûdi,[89] which is situated in Arabian Mesopotamia, and there it stopped one month more. During the time of the deluge night could not be distinguished from day on account of the clouds, the rain, and the black vapours arising from the surface of the water. Ebn Abbâs is said to have related that the Almighty—w. n. b e.—fixed two luminous discs,

[88] Qurân, ch. xi. 45. [89] Such is also the tradition of the Chaldeans.

one like the sun and the other like the moon, on the wall of the ark, and by their means the time of the day or night, as well as the times appointed for prayers, were ascertained. When the rains abated the earth began to absorb the waters, and when Nûh beheld the rainbow he knew that the time for leaving the ark was near, and let out a raven for the purpose of learning the state and quantity of the waters; but that ill-fated bird met a corpse and returned not, whereon Nûh cursed it, and prayed that its nourishment might at all times consist of carcases. Afterwards he let fly a dove,[90] which returned, after a short time, with an olive-sprig in its beak. From this circumstance he concluded that the tops of trees must have appeared above the waters; and, on account of the pigeon's obedience and information, he blessed it, and prayed that it may always enjoy the favour of man. Nûh then continued to send out the dove until it returned with some of the loam of the sea sticking to its feet, and on that day, which was the tenth of the month Muharram, all the people came out from the ark.

Hemistich: What shall I say for joy how they came!

They built a village at the foot of the mountain, which, as the company amounted to eighty persons, was called Sauk-ut-thamaneen [Forum of eighty]. After the village had been completed, all the inhabitants died from plague and pestilence except Nûh, his three sons Sâm, Hâm, Yâfuth and their wives, who were spared from the calamity. It is related that the Almighty—whose magnificence be glorified—sent a revelation to Nûh to the effect that his people had been destroyed for their ingratitude, and that the Almighty swore by His own magnificence and glory never again to punish His servants with a deluge.[91] Nûh was rejoiced at this news, and divided the entire habitable earth into three parts, which he thus distributed among his three sons: To Sâm [Shem] he gave Syria, Mesopotamia, Erâq, Persia and Khorâsân, because he was the most

[90] Genesis, ch. viii. 7-11. [91] *Ibid.*, ch. viii. 21.

intelligent of his children. To Hâm he granted Africa, Ethiopia, Abyssinia, India, Sind and the country of the blacks. Upon Yâfuth [Japheth] he bestowed China, the Slavonian countries and Turkestân. Accordingly, the inhabitants of the whole of Persia, Arabia and Greece, which countries are the centre of the civilized world, are the descendants of Sâm. The Turks, Slavonians, and the nations around the Caspian Sea, who are noble and brave, are the children of Yâfuth, and all the blacks of India, Sind, Zanzibar, Abyssinia and the negro land are the offspring of Hâm.

It is related that when Nûh—u. w. b, etc.—had one day fallen asleep, his pudenda happened to be uncovered on seeing which Hâm began to laugh, and instead of covering them informed his brothers of the circumstance They reproved him, and veiled the nudity of their father. When Nûh awoke he became aware of what had taken place, reproached Hâm angrily, and prayed to the Almighty to make his children the slaves of the descendants of Sâm and Yâfuth, in consequence whereof the progeny of the two latter became honoured, but that of the former afflicted with misery and servitude[92] It is said that after Nûh's prayer the wife of Hâm gave birth to twins, one male and the other female, both of whom were black, at the sight of whom Hâm became melancholy and despondent, and informed his brethren of the event. Sâm and Yâfuth said that this untoward accident happened in consequence of their father's prayer. Therefore Hâm abstained from intercourse with his spouse, but after some time again resumed it, whereon she became pregnant, and was again delivered of black twins exactly as before. Then Hâm was convinced that nothing could stop or hinder the execution of God's decree and order.

It is related, according to Wuhub Bin Muniah, that when the waters of the deluge had disappeared, and the trees had begun to wear a blooming and joyous aspect on the banks of rivers, and when people established them-

[92] Genesis, ch. ix. 21-27.

selves permanently on the face of the earth, Eblis waited upon Nûh, and said: 'Thou hast conferred a great benefit upon me, for which I am very thankful. Ask now anything thou choosetn, and I shall practise no fraud towards thee.' Nûh—u. w. b., etc.—was suspicious of these words, but the divine command having been issued to him to converse with and to interrogate the Evil One, because it had been decreed that this time words of truth should flow from his lips, Nûh put the following question to Satan: 'Which of the characteristics of men are of the greatest assistance to thee for their perdition?' Eblis replied: 'Envy and covetousness, malevolence and precipitation in the transactions of life.' Nûh continued: 'O enemy of Allah! wherein lies the good I have done to thee?' Satan rejoined: 'Thou hast prayed against the inhabitants of this world, and hast sent them to hell in one hour; otherwise I would have been obliged to machinate against them for a long time.' Nûh then repented of his prayer. Some of this conversation has, however, already been narrated above.

After the deluge Nûh continued to live for a long time, but at last, in his dying hour, when Jebrâil arrived with A'zrayil, and asked, 'O prophet, whose life was the longest, what thinkest thou of life after so long a duration?' Nûh replied, 'I have learnt that this world is like a house with two doors, by one of which I entered, and, after staying therein a little while, I left it by the other.'

Verses: This ornamental garden has two portals,
Keys and locks removed from both,
Enter the garden by one portal and look round,
Then issue from the garden by the other.

When he departed this life, and his precious soul went to the propinquity of the Most Merciful, his noble children committed his august body to the earth in Jerusalem.[93]

His external Description.—Nûh had a brown complexion, a very corpulent and broad body, but slender legs and arms. His eyes were large, his stature high, his beard

[93] Literally the Holy House (Bêtu-l-muqaddas).

and moustache straight, and he was subject to stormy fits of anger.

His Name and Surnames.—In Syria he is called Bushkur, and Nûh in Arabia He is also called the second Adam. His surname is the chief of prophets, and the confidant of Allah.

Some of his Characteristics.—According to some, he was the first Uvlu-l-a'zm, and by others he is called the second; according to the most approved opinion Uvlu-l-a'zm (see footnote 84) is a prophet who substitutes his own law for that of another. Though Nûh was constantly occupied with his mission to the people, he was extremely pious, and performed more than seven hundred prayer-flexions during the twenty-four hours of the day. He was patient, long-suffering, grateful, meritorious; and, in spite of the people's conduct, he distributed among them everything he possessed, hoping thus to captivate them and to decoy the birds of the hearts of those lost ones, with the bait of liberality and good deeds, to enter the nest of peace, security and happiness.

Record of Nûh's Ark.

It is recorded in several commentaries that the length of the ark was eighty, the breadth fifty, and the height thirty cubits It contained three stories, the lowest of which was the abode of wild beasts and reptiles, the second that of birds and cattle, and the highest was the dwelling of Nûh and his followers Such is the tradition of the followers of the book.[94] Some assert that the birds were in the first story, men and cattle in the middle, and wild beasts with reptiles in the last story, but Allah knows the true state best. It is recorded b Abdullah Bin Abbas—u. w. b., etc.—that the length of the ship consisted of six hundred and sixty, the breadth of three hundred, and the

[94] By the expression *Ahl Kitâb*, 'those of the book,' generally Jews and Christians, but sometimes the learned, are meant. According to Genesis, ch. vi. 15, the dimensions of the ark were three hundred cubits in length, fifty cubits in breadth, and thirty cubits in height.

height of thirty-three cubits, divided into three compartments as has just been mentioned. Others, again, have reported in their commentaries that the length of the ark was one thousand, the breadth five hundred, and the height three hundred cubits. It was formed in the shape of a bird: its head being like that of a peacock, its eyes like the eyes of an eagle, its breast like the breast of a dove, and its extremity like the tail of a cock. It was lined outwardly and inwardly with resin and pitch. It is related after the Emâm of the Emâms of guidance, Hasan Mahani—u. w. b., etc.—that the length of the ark was one thousand and two hundred, and its breadth six hundred cubits, which tradition agrees with that obtained from Sâm, the son of Nûh—u. w. b., etc.—at the time when he was resuscitated to life by the prayers of I'sa [Jesus].

Record of the Number of Inhabitants of the Ship.

Qotadah says that only eight persons were in the ark: namely, Nûh—u. w. b., etc.—with his wife; Yâfuth, Sâm, and Hâm, with their wives. Agmush records that there were only seven individuals—that is to say, Nûh, with his three sons and daughters. Muhammad Bin Eshaq states that besides the females there were ten men—*i. e.* Nuh, his three sons, and six warriors from among the inhabitants of Yemen. Muqâtl states that there were seventy people besides Nûh, his sons, and their wives; so that their total amounted to seventy-seven. Ebn A'bbâs relates that the whole number amounted to eighty souls, and this is the most correct opinion

It is said that impurities and excrementitious matter so molested the company that they complained to Nûh, who in his turn besought the Most Gracious Benefactor to remedy the evil, whereon he was by divine command ordered to touch the back of the elephant, and after he had done so, the elephant gave birth to a hog, which immediately began to swallow the impurities, and thus cleansed the ship. It is related that Eblis touched with his hand the back of the hog, and a mouse came forth from

its nostrils, which injured the ark much, and almost perforated it; but by the blessing of the Almighty—w. n. b. e. —Nûh was commanded to pass his hand over the face of the lion, who immediately sneezed, and a cat came out from his nostrils, which removed the nuisance of the mice.

EXPLANATION OF THE WORDS, 'AND THE OVEN BOILED.'[95]

It is related after the Commander of the Faithful, A'li—may Allah be gracious to him—that the above phrase alludes to the breaking out and rising of the morn. Others affirm that it means the bubbling forth of water from the face of the earth Qotadah says: '*Tannûr* was a high place where the water gushed forth.' Others assert that the word *Tannûr* means a real oven, in which the wife or daughter of Nûh baked bread. Hasan Bossry tells us that it was an oven in which Adam baked bread, and which Nûh had inherited, it was [built] in the vicinity of Babel, and near the mosque of Kufah, and at that place Nûh embarked on board his ship Muqâtl says it was in Syria, in a place called A'inu-l-vard, near Ba'lbek, it is also said to have been in India Some say that Nûh was standing on a baker's oven, and on the baker's saying, by way of derision, 'Where is that water with which thou hast threatened us?' Nûh replied, 'From thy oven,' and at that very moment the water commenced to boil from it.

THE MIRACLES OF NÛH.

Besides [the miracles connected with] the deluge, and others already mentioned, the following are also attributed to him: When the believers in the unity of God had come out from the ark, all their eatables had been consumed, and they were entirely famished; then Nûh took up a quantity of sand from the ground, and by the blessing of

[95] The above is a literal translation of the words *faru-t-tannuru*, which occur also in the Qurân, ch. xi. 42, and ch. xxiii. 27, but is not rendered literally nor equally in the two passages by European translators.

his prayers it was changed into grilled wheat. Some say that after leaving the ark he planted fruit-trees, which immediately became green and bore fruit; so that the troubles of the believers were changed into repose, and they were saved from the pangs of hunger, which are one of the most dreadful scourges. Another of his miracles is that he cured one of his daughters of barrenness by placing his finger upon her navel. Besides these miracles, he performed many others, to enumerate which would greatly lengthen this record.

His Mission and the Length of his Life.

The approved opinion is that the duration of his blessed life amounted to one thousand years, of which he spent nine hundred and fifty in his mission of converting the people. He walked to the Abode of Truth [*i.e.* he died] during the same year in which he left the ark. The learned affirm that Nûh received his mission in the fiftieth year of his life, and that he was six hundred years old at the time of the deluge, and that he lived three hundred and fifty years more after it.

Be it known that all nations believe in the deluge except the Majûs and the inhabitants of Khatay.[96] Some chroniclers say that Nûh was two hundred and fifty years old when he was appointed to his mission, and that he lived nine hundred and fifty years more. According to one calculation the length of his life would amount to one thousand four hundred and fifty years. The total period of his mission [to admonish the people] before and after the deluge consisted of one thousand and two hundred years. Others state that he died at the age of one thousand and three hundred, or of one thousand four hundred and seventy years. In short, when the catastrophe of the deluge had terminated, and the company who believed in Nûh's preaching had died, the whole world belonged to the

[96] The Majûs are the Magi or Zoroastrians, and the inhabitants of Khatay are the Chinese.

sons of Núh, every one of whom departed to his inheritance, and engaged in cultivating it.

RECORD OF YÁFUTH, THE SON OF NÚH, U. W. B., ETC., AND DESCRIPTION OF THE TURKS, HIS DESCENDANTS.

Some have said that Yâfuth became a prophet, appointed by the Almighty. When Nûh took leave of him at the foot of Mount Júdi, and sent him towards the north and the east, over which he had been appointed, Yâfuth requested his father to teach him a prayer by means of which he might procure rain at any time. Núh complied, and, after having turned towards the Lord of Glory, Jebrâil brought in response to his request the ineffable Name, which Núh carved on a stone and gave to Yâfuth. It is called 'rain-stone,' but the Turks have named it Jaddatâsh[97]

When Yáfuth left the 'Forum of the eighty,' he travelled for a long time until he arrived at the limits of his empire, where he pursued a nomadic life and established good customs. When his progeny had greatly increased, he removed his goods and chattels to the abode of perpetuity [i.e. he died] Some say that he laid the foundation of one of the great cities of China in his dominions. It is related that the Bestower of all good gifts had granted to him eleven sons—namely, Chin, Saqallâb, Kamâri, Turk, Khalj, Kharz, Rûs, Sadsân, A'z, Bâraj, and Manshaj—each of whom he married to one of his own daughters, commanding them to cultivate the land, and to multiply the number of the worshippers of God.

Turk, the son of Yâfuth, his successor, and the most intelligent of his sons, strenuous, upright, and sagacious, also called Yâfuth Oglân, was the first who explored those regions. He arrived at a place called Selúk, where he found a lake with warm water, pleasant springs, and num-

[97] This is like the Bezoar stone, the use of which for various purposes has not yet gone out of fashion in our times, but is still kept up by several tribes of Mongols, Khirgiz, etc , the operators are called *Jadajis*.

berless prairies. The locality suited Turk extremely well. He settled therein, erected houses built of wood and grass; after some time he invented tents by sewing together hides of sheep and of other animals. He was a just and excellent king, cared unceasingly for the well-being of his subjects, and the servants of God—w. n. b. e.—reposed in tranquillity under the shadow of his protection. The Bestower of all good gifts presented him with children worthy of himself. One of these, Fûduk by name, who was addicted to hunting, one day roasted and consumed some of the game he had slain, when suddenly a piece of meat slipped from his hand into saline ground. On taking up the meat again he found it to be very savoury; he accordingly began to salt his victuals, and this custom originated from that day among the Turks, who are his descendants.

Kharz travelled in the north, and when he arrived on the Amut [Amûr ?] he was so pleased that he built a city, where his sons introduced in the world the art of catching foxes, of the skins whereof they made clothes, according to the instructions of their father, during whose lifetime one of his sons happened to die. For a long time he knew not what to do with the corpse As, however, Yâfuth, with some of his adherents, had perished in the sea, he kindled fire, which is antagonistic to water, and threw the body into it, causing his followers to play on musical instruments and to sing during the act of cremation; and it is said that this blamable habit is still flourishing in that country. It is said that his descendants followed bees until they arrived in the cavities of mountains, where they found honey, of which they prepared sweetmeats.

After some time Rûs arrived in the vicinity of the country of Kharz, and sent to him a messenger for the purpose of asking permission to settle in the realm. Kharz received the envoy with compliments, and presented his master with several oases possessing a good climate with a fertile soil. When each of the children of Yâfuth had taken up his abode in a separate region, his son A'z went to the outskirts of the country of Bulgâr, constructed

edifices, and settled there. A'z was of a cunning and deceitful nature, who carried on great wars against his brother Turk: the reason of which was that when Yâfuth got drowned in some sea, the stone which he had received through Nûh for the purpose of obtaining rain had fallen into the hands of A'z, but as every one of the brothers coveted that stone, A'z made use of his cunning disposition, and, procuring a false stone which resembled the true one, he carved the ineffable Name on it. In order to settle the dispute who should obtain the stone, the brothers drew lots, and Turk having won, A'z was compelled to surrender it. He did so, but it was the fabricated stone. Turk entertained no suspicion, and, joyfully accepting it, never tried it till several years afterwards, when he stood in need of rain. He produced the just-mentioned stone, but his asking for rain was of no use, wherefore he became convinced that A'z had deceived him. He accordingly collected an army, which mountain and dale were too small to hold, and hastened to meet and to fight his brother for the purpose of recovering the original stone. A'z was likewise ready with numerous troops, and sent his eldest son, Begûr, who was decorated with the ornaments of valour and bravery, to combat Turk. A sanguinary battle ensued, in which Begûr was killed. Turk returned, but it is said that enmity subsists till this day between the descendants of the two families.

Saqallâb intended to settle in a good locality, since his progeny had likewise increased. On one occasion a son was born to him whose mother died in the travail of childbirth. It happened that at the same time a bitch in the hunting-kennel was delivered of pups, and the new-born infant was suckled with dog's milk; accordingly when he grew up he snapped at everybody like a member of the canine race. His father married him to a female relative, who gave birth to an infant, also named Saqâllab. After some time he went, with all his followers, goods, and chattels, to the country of Rûs, and asked a place from him. Rûs said: 'This country is very small, and you need

much space, because you are so very numerous.' After being thus disappointed, they applied also to Kumâri and Kharz, but received the same answer. Therefore the fire of war blazed up among them; the Saqallâbas fled, and wandered to the sixty-fourth degree of latitude, which is called the country beyond the seven climates,[98] where they were compelled to construct subterranean houses, on account of the severe cold, and there they dwelt.

Kamâri, the son of Yâfuth, was a jovial fellow, and a great hunter, who, finding whilst engaged in the chase, on the outskirts of the Bulgâr country, an agreeable prairie with a temperate climate, settled there. The Lord—whose name be glorified—bestowed two sons on him, one of whom he called Bulgâr and the other Bartâs When both of them had attained mature age, each of them selected a place and cultivated it, they caught foxes, sables, ermines, and squirrels, of the skins whereof they made garments, and the inhabitants of that country are their descendants.

Chin, the son of Yâfuth, was exceedingly circumspect, discerning, and intelligent He built a city in his country, and called it after his own name, as has been mentioned before; and as Chin was of a refined and aspiring disposition, he invented the arts of drawing, painting, and of weaving variegated stuffs. These arts he imparted to his children. He also reared silkworms, and nearly all the trades current among the Chinese must be ascribed to his ingenuity. Meanwhile his world-embracing eye became illuminated by the birth of a son of happy omen, whom he surnamed Mâchin. This son married when he had attained the age of maturity, and begat a numerous progeny. Then he consulted his father on the propriety of founding a new city, since their children and relatives had increased excessively; and after due permission he built near the capital of Chin a city which he called after his own name; therein he dwelt and prospered greatly.

[98] Muhammadan geographers also divide the world into seven climates, which are mentioned already in the 'Vendidâd' under the name of *Keshwers*

Mâchin took the wool of his sheep and taught his children to spin and to weave cloths He was also fond of hunting, and one day caught an A'nka, which is a very handsome bird,[99] took its feathers, and ordered his warriors to put them on in war like plumes On another occasion he caught a fawn When it was killed and skinned a black clot of blood flowed from its navel which Mâchin ordered to be kept and dried; he afterwards observed that it had become even more fragrant than it had been before. He therefore ordered that whenever a deer like this one was killed its navel-bag should be preserved, and in this manner the people obtained musk.

After the lapse of many years the descendants of Yâfuth began to multiply and to differ from each other so greatly that their speech became [also] changed, thirty-six dialects having become current among them, so that they could no longer understand each other. Therefore they separated, and cultivated the land in various parts of the north. Some of them, however, had been so much accustomed to nomadic life that they continued therein, and to this day the various tribes of Turks, Mongolians, Tartars, Kipjaks, etc., are known as his descendants. The Khâns of Turkestân and of the northern country are also of this race Let it not remain unknown to the intelligent reader that whatever has been said in these pages concerning the numbers and affairs of the children of Yâfuth is quite different from the preface of the 'Zafar-nâmah,' which the author himself—may Allah have mercy on him—has not seen, consequently he has made no use of it.[100]

Record of Hâm, the Son of Nûh, u. w. b., etc

According to some chronicles, he is likewise considered to be a prophet, sent by the Almighty Muhammad Bin Ka'b-ul-Fuzi states that the cause of the change of his

[99] The A'nka is a fabulous bird, somewhat resembling our phœnix.
[100] Mirkhond afterwards acquired the above-named 'Zafar-nâmah' in the author's own handwriting, and used it in composing the history of Tamerlane [Taimur lang], as he himself states later on in this work.

countenance happened in the following manner: By the command of the Most High, w. n. b. e, all those who were in the ark of Nûh had been prohibited to have connection with their wives until the violence of the storm, the accumulation of the clouds, and the beating of the waves had subsided, and the ark had settled on dry ground. But the fire of Hâm's lust blazed up whilst the deluge was at its height; he had intercourse with his spouse, and his complexion became changed. Some of the principal historians, however, have rejected this tradition, and even that of his having witnessed the nudity of Nûh and not covered it. At any rate, Hâm separated from his father, and travelled until he arrived at the shores of the southern ocean, where he settled. There the Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—bestowed upon him nine sons, namely, Hind, Sind, Zanj, Nuba, Kana'an, Kûsh, Qabat, Berber, and Habsh, from these the negroes of Africa, the Abyssinians, Zanzibaris, and Hindus are derived. Among the children of Hâm eighteen languages originated, each tribe using its own idiom, but when they could no longer understand each other, they necessarily dispersed, and built towns It is said that to the south of the equinoxial line the land is cultivated as far as the fourteenth degree of latitude, and inhabited by some of the children of Hâm.

Record of Sâm, the Son of Nûh, u w b, etc.

Muqadasi narrates in his chronicle that Sâm, the son of Nûh, was one of the greatest prophets sent by Allah; and as the Lord Nûh found him to be the most intelligent, perfect, amiable, learned, pious, and noble of his sons, he appointed him to be his successor, communicated to him the secrets of prophecy and the mysteries of apostleship. He ordered all his descendants to obey him, bestowed upon him the middle climate, which is the best region in the habitable world, and prayed that the majority of saints. prophets, philosophers, sovereigns, chiefs of the people, and devout persons should be produced from his seed.

Sâm lived five hundred years, and according to some till the time of the prophet Yaqûb, u. w. b., etc.; but the first opinion is the most correct. The Omnipotent, Inscrutable One presented him with nine sons; namely, Arfakhshad, who is the father of prophets, Kaiumarth, who is called the parent of kings, Asûd, Yafun, Yuruj, Lavud, A'ilam, Eran, and Sûr. Sâm despatched every one of these sons to another country. Some have recorded in their histories that the languages of the children of Sâm increased till they amounted to nineteen, and when they could no longer understand each other they dispersed, civilized, and cultivated the land separately. Kaiumarth reigned over all the races of Sâm, governed them like a king, and bestowed on them various appointments, according to the requirements of that age His life will—if it pleaseth Allah—be narrated in the history of the kings of Persia.[101] After the children of Sâm had greatly multiplied in Babel, Yemen, Hadharamaut, O'mân, in both the E'râqs and in Persia, some of them emigrated eastward and others westward. They mixed with the children of Yâfuth and of Hâm, and built cities and villages.

Record of Hûd and his Mission to the People of A'ad

It is the opinion of all historians that from the time of Nûh till Ebrahim, u. w. b, etc., which amounted to one thousand and two hundred years, there were no prophets sent except Hûd and Sâlah. Some affirm that Hûd was the son of A'bdullah, son of Remâh, son of Hareth, son of A'ad, son of A'os, son of Eram, son of Sâm, son of Nûh. Several of the commentaries, and most of the historical books, mention that A'aber, son of Sâlah, son of Arfakhshad, son of Sâm, is another name for him. At all events, the Lord and Beneficent Donor had sent him for the guidance and direction of the people of A'ad. Muhammad Ebn Esahaq and all chroniclers and expounders have related that the people of A'ad were an Arab tribe, notorious

[101] 'Early Kings of Persia,' translated into English by David Shea.

for the height, strength, and corpulency of their bodies, and for their bravery; so that the tallest individuals among them were one hundred, and the smallest sixty, cubits high, and they were the strongest men in the world. The people of A'ad and the sons of A'ad Bin A'os Bin Fram were all idolaters, one of their gods being Samûd and the other Samad. It is related that they constructed pillars of stone as high as their own bodies, and built upon them tall edifices, from which they precipitated any men against whom their wrath was incensed. Allah—w. n. b. pr.—said: 'When ye are violent, ye are violent.' The people of A'ad were mighty, addicted to idolatry, and committed all sorts of wickedness, but after their vileness had attained the highest degree, Hûd—u. w b, etc.—was sent to that nation. He directed that misguided race during fifty years to the straight road, he invited them to acknowledge the unity of Allah, w. n. b. pr, and to discard idolatry; he threatened the people with [the consequences of] the sinfulness of their oppression, tyranny, and obstinacy; but they trusted to their own strength, and disregarded his admonitions. Nor did they accept his law, except a small company of them, who followed his precepts and injunctions They were, however, obliged to keep their religion secret, for fear of being persecuted by the unbelievers. Not one of the nobles of the tribe believed except Murshed Bin Sa'd Bin A'kir. It is related in the history of Tabari that Loqmân-A'ad was likewise one of the faithful, and when the endeavours of Hûd to convert those refractory ones had exceeded all bounds, they unanimously determined to distress and to persecute him The followers of Hûd, however, became aware of this intention, and when they informed him thereof he raised his hands in prayer, besought the Almighty to grant security to the believers, and to afflict the infidels and malefactors and their adherents with adversity The arrow of prayer hit the target of response, and the abundance of the rain of heaven was changed into scarcity, the waters of their fountains, wells, and rivers were absorbed by the earth;

their gardens, parks, and tanks became exsiccated. Lastly, the fire of hunger and famine was kindled in the stomachs of those heedless people, and during seven years they were afflicted with the misery of dearth. But compassion being one of the qualities of prophets, the Lord Hûd admonished them on that occasion, saying 'O ye misguided people, believe in God the most gracious and most high, that this punishment and calamity may be removed from you, because it is only the consequence of your rebellion and disobedience' They, however, considered his admonitions and promises to be impossible chimeras, and persisted in their former ways, not paying attention to his preaching, but continuing in their infidelity and wickedness, saying: 'We cannot abandon the worship of our gods for the sake of thy words', and when the famine had culminated in the most acute distress, and they had neither bread nor water, they unanimously decided to send a number of men to Mekkah in order to pray for rain

In short, it was customary at that time, that when any calamity befell a believer in the unity of God or an infidel, he betook himself to the sanctuary of the Lord—whose magnificence be glorified—which was situated in the locality of the Ka'bah, where a red hill stood, and after he had prayed his wish was granted At that time the inhabitants of the blessed city of Mekkah were of the children of A'mallâq, or A'maliq, the son of Lao, son of Sâir, and they were called A'maliqites. The Sherif of Mekkah and chief of that tribe was Moa'via Bin Bakr, his mother's name was Gulchahra, the daughter of Khayberi, of the tribe of A'ad When the calamity of famine had arisen among the A'adites, they sent the headmen of their people—such as Qil Bir A'z, Loqmân Bin A'âd, Baqum Bin Hillâl Bin Murshad Bin A'qir, Sa d Bin Haliqa Bin Alkhayberi, the maternal uncle of Moa'via Bin Bakr, and many others, to the number of seventy, under the leadership of the above-named Qil—to the noble city of Mekkah, with instructions to stay in that holy place for the purpose of praying for rain. This company started

from their homes as they were bidden, and, after the termination of their journey, they arrived in Mekkah, and alighted at the house of Moa'via Bin Bakr, who waited upon them with abundance of food and drink, and also ordered a singing girl to entertain the people of A'ad. The ambassadors of this tribe, who had exchanged the calamity of dearth and hunger for the pleasure of tranquillity and comfort, forgot the distress of the A'adites and the prayers for rain, so that they remained a full month in the neighbourhood of the sanctuary in the house of Moa'via, engaged in joy and pleasure, following up their nocturnal potations with matutinal draughts, and *vice versâ*, incessantly beating the drum of joviality, and never caring for good or ill luck.

Distich. Seeing a hungry infidel in an empty house at table,
Wisdom itself would not believe that he is keeping the fast [102]

After a protracted stay of these guests in Moa'via's house, the host became distressed, and said to himself. 'These men have come to ask for rain, but they have taken to drinking wine, and my relatives have remained afflicted with famine. If I admonish my guests they will probably attribute my advice to stinginess, and will say that I am weary of entertaining them' At last he composed a piece of poetry, wherein he alluded to the carelessness of Qil and his boon companions, and to the misery of their friends at home. He also incited them to ask for rain, and reminded them of the helpless state of the A'adites. He made the singing girls learn these verses and chant them at the banquet, the guests were admonished by their contents, repented of their own procrastination, reproached each other, and began to make the arrangements necessary for the prayers—such as offerings, sacrifices, etc. They also prepared to go to the customary place for making the necessary inquiries. On that occasion Murshad Bin S'ad, who had hitherto kept his faith secret, informed them that, if they did not believe their prophet, the Absolute

[102] This distich is taken from Sa'di's 'Gulistân,' and the fasting month is the *Ramazan*, on which see Qurân, ch ii. 181.

Benefactor [i e God] would not grant the rain; he also recited verses to them, which began as follows:

**Verses. The people of A'ad rebelled against their prophet
And remained thirsty, the heavens did not moisten them.**

They perceived from the words of Murshad that he belonged to the company of Musalmâns, therefore they separated from him, and hastened to the place of prayer, and, having taken refuge with the Beneficent Donor they asked for rain, whereupon three clouds made their appearance—one white, one red, and the third black—and a voice was heard from above saying 'O Qil! select one of these three clouds.' Qil imagined that the black cloud would give more rain than any other, selected it, and said 'I have chosen the black cloud, because it contains most water.' Suddenly a herald's voice was heard. 'Thou hast chosen ashes! Ashes! Not a single individual of the tribe of A'ad will be left, it will [i e the cloud] spare neither the father nor the son.' Then the Almighty Sender of the winds despatched the black cloud selected by Qil, which contained a storm of chastisement and vengeance, towards Ahqaf,[103] to the tribe of A'ad When the latter perceived the approaching cloud, they joyfully pointed it out to each other, saying 'This is a cloud the showers of which will refresh and gladden the garden of our expectations', and the blessed verse, 'They said, This is a traversing cloud, which bringeth us rain,[104] is confirmatory of this assertion The Almighty also says 'Nay, it is what ye demanded to be hastened, and a wind, wherein is a severe vengeance',[105] because when Hûd called the people of A'ad, and threatened them with divine punishment, they derided and challenged him to fulfil his threats. It is said that the first person among the A'adites who became aware of this dreadful catastrophe was a woman of the name of Mahad, who shouted for fright when she beheld the cloud, and then

[103] Ahqâf means sandhills, but is also the name of a portion of Arabia, extending from Hadhramaut to O'mân, covered with hills of sand, which often prove fatal to life when moved by the wind.
[104] Qurân, ch xlvi 23 [105] *Ibid*

fainted. When she recovered herself, she was asked for the cause which made her lose her senses, and she said: 'I behold something which shines like fire, and I perceive a fearful troop, drawing it towards us. The terror of this spectacle has overwhelmed me.' When Hûd had cast a glance upon that dark cloud he knew it to be the beginning of the chastisement. By divine command he left the people of A'ad, proceeded with four thousand individuals to Yanbo', and drawing with his blessed finger a line on the ground to encompass his followers in the similitude of a stronghold, he ordered that no one should overstep it, or withdraw his head from the line of obedience until the calamity had elapsed.

It is related, after Ebn A'bbâs, that Hûd went with his followers into-Mesopotamia, where they enjoyed pleasant breezes. It is said that when the people of A'ad had become aware of the motion of the air, and the greatness of the calamity, they assembled in a circular encampment, holding fast to each other, and binding even their garments together, saying: 'Let the wind of Hûd do its worst, no ill will befall us.' The storm commenced, however, by raising their animals and cattle, with their women and children, from the ground, and sent them flying into the air, whence they fell back again and were dashed to pieces. When the A'adites saw this they endeavoured to flee to their houses, but the wind overtook and utterly destroyed them under the ruins. Some remained outside, and, trusting in the strength of their bodies, they dug their legs into the ground as far as the knees, and tried to stand up, but they fared no better than the others. The storm continued to rage during seven days and nights, until it extirpated the whole race; it is said that the *A'jûz* days,[106] set down by astronomers in calendars towards the end of the winter, allude to these days. The reason why they are called *A'jûz* days is because, when the hurricane

[106] The word A'jûz has numerous significations and among them also that of an 'old woman'; here, however, it means the five or seven days at the winter solstice which are thus designated.

[above alluded to] took place, an old woman of that tribe concealed herself in a house underground; on the third day, however, the wind reached her also, and joined her to her former friends. The chronicler says that, after Qil and all the envoys of the A'adites had terminated their prayers, and were staying near the sanctuary, they beheld a man riding on a camel in great haste who informed them that he was one of the followers of Hûd, travelling from the country of the A'adites to Egypt, and that their whole tribe had perished in the hurricane of annihilation. Qil and his companions were much distressed at this news, and said: 'O All-powerful Nourisher! cause us to taste of the same beverage which Thou hast made our friends quaff, because without them our life is of no value!' Their request was granted, and the Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—ordered the wind to convey them into the fire of hell. Some historians state that when Qil had inquired after and had ascertained the destruction of his tribe, he coveted eternal life, but the divine allocution reached him that the predestined bounds were not to be exceeded, and that everyone would be allowed to fix a certain period of time, after the expiration of which he would have to die, but they [*i.e.* the tribe] unanimously said: 'O Lord,

Distich If a man be compelled to separate from his friend
He is wise if he associates with no one

Destroy us likewise, and cause us to be united with our tribe'; and in this wish of theirs they were gratified

Loqmân, the son of A'ad, who is also named the companion of light, besought the arbiter of life and death to grant him the lifetime of seven eagles His prayer was heard, he successfully caught young eagles and brought them up; according to the most current opinion, each of them lived eighty years and then died Loqmân called the seventh eagle Labad, which means in their language 'a thousand years.' When this eaglet had become larger, it used to fly out; one day, however, when the eagles flew away from the top of the mountain, Loqmân did not see it among them. He became uneasy, and called Labad to

ascertain the reason of his not flying out; he also cajoled him to do so, but, after making a fruitless effort to get up, Labad again fell to the ground, and his spirit took flight. At that very moment the bird of Loqmân's soul was liberated from the cage of his body, and hastened to the mansion of eternity.

Distich : If thou remainest for a century, thou must
Leave this joyous house in a moment.

The bouquet-binders of the gardens of narratives say that when the people of A'ad were afflicted by the wrath of God, and their habitations were destroyed, Hûd emigrated with a company of pious and believing men, who had remained under the secure shadow of the peace and protection of God, and settled in the region of Hadharamaut, where they built houses and established themselves. On the termination of the one hundred and sixtieth year of his blessed life, he met the command of the Almighty with the response, 'I hear and obey', he was gathered into the gardens of eternity, and left this world denuded of the presence of his virtues and laudable qualities. It is said that in one of the caves among the mountains of Hadharamaut there is a high tower, in front whereof a marble sarcophagus, containing his blessed body, stands. On the sarcophagus there is a tablet with the following inscription. 'In the name of Allah the Most High! I am Hûd the prophet, and the messenger of the God of heaven and earth to the people of A'ad, whom I invited to accept the Faith, and to abandon idols, but they refused, the storm destroyed them, and they became ashes!' It is related after A'li—may Allah ennoble his face—that the tomb of the prophet Hûd is situated in Hadharamaut on a hill of red sand. Others have said that every prophet who came out unscathed from the wars with infidels, went with his companions to Mekkah, where he is [invisibly] living till the end of all time. When the people of A'ad had been overtaken by the vengeance of the Lord, Hûd invited his followers to emigrate; they accordingly went to Mekkah, and lived in that blessed country till their destiny over-

took them [*i e.* till they died]. The sepulchres of Hûd and his followers are situated between the House of Assembly and the gate of the prophet of Allah, u. w. b., etc.; but God is most wise!

Description of his Person.—His manners were extremely affable and jovial, his body was entirely covered with hair, and greatly resembled that of Adam, u w. b, etc. His name is A'abud in the Hebrew tongue,[107] but in Arabic he is called Hûd, and surnamed the prophet

His Qualities—He was very pious, abstemious, liberal, amiable, and a great almsgiver Sometimes he engaged in commerce His law was like that of Nûh, u w. b., etc.

His Miracles.—He worked numerous miracles, one of which was that, when the people of A'ad were in trouble about pastures for their sheep and cattle, they requested him to change a mountainous region full of gravel into prairies for the enjoyment of their animals, and assured him that they would accept his religion He accordingly uttered a prayer, whereon the gravel was changed into mud, which soon produced abundant grass and springs of water, but, despite of the miracle, those hard-hearted wretches did not believe On another occasion, when he happened to be travelling with several other persons, all were so distressed by rain and lightning that it seemed to them impossible either to stop or to move Then his lordship began to pray, and the wind brought so many blocks of earth that they were enabled to build a shelter, which they abandoned after the weather had again cleared up

The Length of his Mission and his Life—All historians agree that the time of his mission amounted to one hundred years—fifty before and fifty after the destruction of the tribe. According to the most correct statements, he lived four hundred and sixty-four years, or three hundred and forty-three years according to the tradition of Christian U'lamâ, one hundred and fifty years according to some commentators, but according to another opinion four hundred and eighty years Allah, however, knows bests

[107] Hûd is considered to be the 'Heber' of Genesis, ch. x 24.

Record of Shadeed and Shadâd.

Historians who lived before our times, and who were a great deal better acquainted with the world, versed in sciences, and endowed with more intelligence than ourselves, have not mentioned Shadeed and Shadâd in any dynasty of kings or potentates, but have appended their history to that of Hûd. Therefore the musk-charactered reed follows the custom of the ancients, and discourses as follows: Shadeed and Shadâd were two brothers of the children of A'ad, who governed almost the whole inhabited world, and dwelt in Syria. Though Shadeed was an idolater, the sheep and the wolf became friends on account of his great justice, and the hawk dared not to attack the partridge on account of his perfect government. It is said that he appointed a Qâzi in his country, and laid down rules for his guidance, but after the expiration of a whole year he had not a single case to judge. The Qâzi then informed the king that he did not consider himself entitled to the salary of his office, because no one had lodged any complaint during the just-mentioned period of time. Shadeed replied that he must nevertheless continue in his appointment and draw his pay. Some time afterwards two individuals made their appearance in the court of justice. One complained that he had purchased a piece of ground from the other, in which a treasure had been discovered, and though he had invited him to take possession of the treasure, he refused, replying that he had sold the land to the buyer with everything it contained. The Qâzi made inquiries, and found that one of these men had a son and the other a daughter, therefore he ordered them to be married to each other, and the treasure to be given to them. It is related that Hûd often visited Shadeed and invited him to accept his religion, but he always demurred, and died an infidel. When Shadâd ascended the throne of royalty, after his brother's death, the prophet Hûd ordered him to believe in the unity of God, and to worship Him; but Shadâd refused and said: 'If I receive thy religion,

and worship and magnify thy God only, what will He give me in return?' Hûd replied 'Eternal life in paradise.' Then Shadâd continued 'This is easy, and I shall even in this world make a paradise.' Accordingly, he set about it, and despatched ambassadors to Zohâk the Arab, who was his sister's son, and who reigned at that time over the empire of Jamshid, requesting him to send all the silver, gold, and jewels he could spare. Zohâk complied with the demand, and had treasures of untold value conveyed to Syria. Shadâd issued orders also in his own dominions to collect all the silver and gold, musk, ambergris, precious stones, silver vessels, and the like, and to despatch all to the metropolis. After having collected the means, he selected a locality for building, and found it in one of the districts of Syria, the atmosphere whereof breathed the air of paradise, and the running brooks of which recalled to the mind the rivers of the garden of Eden, flowing with milk and honey. He quickly assembled architects endowed with skill and taste, who built an enclosure for the park the extent whereof surpassed the aspirations of the poor, its breadth was greater than the intentions of the benevolent, and its height almost reached the vault of heaven. In the garden they built a castle, the like of which had not been seen since the creation of the world. Its walls were raised with alternate courses of bricks of gold and silver, its roof consisted of sheets of gold inlaid with rubies and all sorts of precious stones, and its columns were of crystal. Instead of gravel they poured precious stones into the rivulets, they constructed trees of pure gold, and stuffed them with amber and ambergris, so that, when the wind blew, perfume emanated from the trees. Instead of earth, the ground consisted of saffron and amber. It is said that twelve thousand turrets constructed of pure silver and gold adorned with sapphires, rubies, emeralds, and the like, decorated the circuit of the castle. There were five hundred guards, each of whom had a separate house. Moon-faced women and sun-like maidens were collected from the whole world, and these, who excited the envy of

fairies and the jealousy of hûris, were collected to abide in that locality, in the construction whereof all the money that existed in the world had been expended

When the news of the completion of the park had reached Shadâd, who was at that time in Hadharamaut, he marched there with an army more numerous than ants or locusts; and when he had arrived at a distance of one stage from the garden he perceived a fawn, whose feet were of silver, horns of gold, and eyes of rubies Shadâd was so enchanted with the beauty and elegant form of the fawn that he pursued it on horseback, and went far away from his army into the desert All of a sudden a rider approached him, who said 'Hast thou with this building which thou hast constructed found freedom from death?' All the limbs of Shadâd began to quake, and he asked. 'Who art thou?' The cavalier replied. 'I am the angel of death.' Shadâd asked 'What hast thou to do with me, and what wantest thou from me?' A'zrayil rejoined 'Thy soul.' Shadâd became much disturbed, and said 'Give me quarter until I cast one glance upon the edifice I have built.' The angel continued: 'I have no command from the Lord of Lords about that matter' Thereon Shadâd fell from his horse, and abandoned his impure spirit to the clencher of souls On that occasion also all that magnificent army heard a voice from heaven and hastened after Shadâd into the lowest pits of the infernal regions.

It is related that A'zrayil was once asked whether, during all the time he had been engaged in taking souls, he had ever felt pity for anyone, and whether an impression of the weakness and helplessness of anyone had ever been made upon his mind. A'zrayil replied 'I was sorry for two individuals the one was an infant born in a ship, which went to pieces at that very moment in the vehemence of a storm, and the child remained floating on a piece of plank in the boundless ocean, the other was Shadâd, who had undergone so much trouble and entertained great hopes until he had completed that palace, of the enjoy-

ment whereof he was after all deprived.' After A'zrayil had finished this recital a divine allocution reached him of the following purport. 'O A'zrayil, I swear by my glory and magnificence that the helpless infant whom thou hast seen on the plank was no other than Shadâd, whom I raised from that state to his high dignity, and bestowed upon him all that power and opulence; but he became rebellious and ungrateful, and was overtaken by my sore displeasure and fell a prey to my wrath.' Let us fly to Allah for refuge from His anger!

It is recorded in histories that after Shadâd's death, that palace, high and magnificent as it was, disappeared from the eyes of men, and that no one had ever seen it except A'bdullah Bin Qallâba, who went there during the Khalifate of Moa'via, the circumstances of that event were as follows: A'bdullah happened to lose a camel and went in search of it through the desert. All of a sudden he arrived near the garden, and beheld a locality which even the flights of his imagination had never reached before. Though he tried much to obtain possession either of a brick of the garden wall, or of one of the precious stones which adorned the turrets, he could not succeed. At last he perceived the gems which had been thrown into the brooks; he therefore carried off as many of them as he was able, brought them to Moa'via, and narrated his whole adventure. Moa'via was greatly astonished, and asked Ka'b the chronicler, who was well acquainted with the histories of our ancestors. Ka'b replied 'That palace and that pageantry belong to Shadâd, and has survived till our times. In our age an individual of the people of Ahmed[108] has arrived at that place, and till the hour of the resurrection no one will see it.'

[108] Ahmed is another name for Muhammad.

Record of Sâlah the Prophet, of the People of Thamûd, and of what happened during his Prophetship.

He was of the children of the tribe of Thamûd, the son of A'aber, son of Sâm, the son of Nûh, likewise called Thamûd, and they are the cousins of A'aber Bin A'oth Bin Eram. The tribe of Thamûd dwelt in the country of Hijar, which is situated between Hejâz and Syria. This was before the destruction of the people of A'ad, after which they went into that region, repopulated and cultivated it again, they also rebuilt the edifices and enjoined sovereign power. The Almighty—whose name be glorified—had granted them long life, wealth, and a numerous progeny. Subsequently they began to rebel against, and to disobey the laws of God, according to the saying, 'Man is prone to rebellion,' they began to worship idols, and preferred obscenity and wickedness to probity and rectitude. Then the Lord of Unity sent Sâlah, son of A'aber, son of Thamûd, who was in the prime of youth and possessed a great deal of property and riches, to that nation. Some, however, are of opinion that he was despatched for the guidance of that tribe only after the completion of the fortieth year of his age. He acted in conformity with his instructions, invited that disobedient nation to follow the straight path and threatened it with the consequences of resistance and obstinacy, but after [he had preached] a long time only a few of the weak believed his words, whilst the majority, persisting in haughtiness, paid no attention to his admonitions. Sâlah's uninterrupted efforts [to convert the people] excited, however, their aversion to such a degree that they desired to get rid of him, so that at last they determined that, on a certain holiday, a company of the wicked should proceed with their idols, and Sâlah with his followers, to the place of the festival, and both parties should engage in prayer to ascertain on which side the truth is, and that all of them would adopt the religion of that party. When the day of the feast had arrived, the

good and the wicked, the virtuous and the vicious, left the town and proceeded to the plain, the infidels taking their idols with them, which were small gods according to their belief, imploring them to frustrate the cause of Sâlah, and not to allow the great God to grant his prayers. When the people of Thamûd had finished their devotions, their prince and chief, whose name was Janda' O'mar, thus addressed Sâlah with the consent of his people: 'O Sâlah, if thy pretensions be true, and thou desirest us to believe in thy mission, and so assert the unity of God, I challenge thee to produce from the hard stone, which is opposite to us in the direction of Hijar, a she-camel with abundance of hair, and in the tenth month of her pregnancy and to produce at the same time, from the womb of the pregnant camel, a young one, perfectly resembling its mother.' After Sâlah had prayed and besought the Almighty Granter of requests, the divine response arrived to the effect that a long time ago a camel endowed with the above-mentioned properties had been created in those stones for the purpose of answering Sâlah's prayer, in order to enable him to enter into a covenant, and to make a contract with the people of Thamûd, and that if this miracle should take place, Janda' O'mar with all his tribe would believe After the infidels had agreed to this proposal, Sâlah raised his hands towards heaven, and turned his face to the Qiblah of prayer, thereon the stone commenced gradually to increase in bulk, hour by hour, until it assumed the shape of a pregnant camel whose time of confinement was at hand, Sâlah and the people of Thamûd were looking, when the stone-hill began suddenly to move, and wailings, like those of a woman in travail, were heard proceeding from the mute rocks, the hill burst, and a camel endowed with the above-mentioned properties issued from it, which measured according to tradition one hundred and twenty cubits from one side to the other. This camel was at the same time delivered of a young one, resembling its mother in strength of body and stature. Janda' O'mar, who beheld this prodigy, was ennobled by the felicity of religion, and

became, with some of his adherents and intimate friends, worthy of eternal salvation in paradise.

Distich: To whom God gives happiness,
It suddenly comes from a rock.

All the gentle and simple of the tribe of Thamûd wished to follow Sâlah, but devils in human shape, such as Duab, the son of Omar, and Mahân, who were idolaters, and chiefs of the people hindered them, accused Sâlah of witchcraft, and did not allow that lost nation to obey the precepts of the Immortal Sovereign. After the she-camel had been delivered of her young one, and began to graze in the fields, Sâlah—u. w. b., etc.—advised the people to cherish, and not to injure her. They had a well, deep like the meditation of sages, for the purpose of watering their sheep and cattle; after the appearance of the she-camel they agreed that one day it should drink from the well, and on the next all their quadrupeds, according to the verse: 'This she-camel shall have her drink, and you your drink on a certain day.'[109] When the she-camel's turn came, it went to the edge of the well, the water likewise ascended to the brim, and the camel drank it all up. After that, the people of Thamûd milked her, and obtained a quantity of milk equal to the water consumed by the camel, and they also used its wool. The camel drank on alternate days, and when the turn of the cattle arrived, the people drew a double quantity of the liquid, that their cattle might not suffer on the camel's day. According to a certain tradition the camel remained with her young one thirty years among them. It was of a wonderful form, dreadful aspect, and strange countenance. It is related that the length of her body was one hundred, and the breadth likewise one hundred cubits, and each of her legs was one hundred and fifty feet high. When this camel was grazing in summer, on the top of a Vâdi, all the quadrupeds of the people of Thamûd were frightened at its extraordinary stature, and took refuge at the bottom of the Vâdi, where the intensity

[109] Qurân, ch. xxvi. 155.

of the heat injured them. In winter the she-camel took up her abode inside the Vâdi, and the cattle went to the top of it, where they became lean and weak on account of the rigour of the cold, and some even died. These trials and temptations continued for a while, but after the people had been extremely harassed by them, they determined to hamstring and to slaughter the camel. It is reported in some books, deserving of credit, that when the said camel made its appearance at the request of the people, Sâlah was informed by divine inspiration that the request had been granted for his sake, and that he was to admonish them not to injure, kill, or remove the camel by any means, because the destruction of the camel would bring on their own, as predestined fate can neither be resisted nor delayed Sâlah informed them of this message, and they assured him that they would never attempt such an act, whereupon he gave them notice, that according to the divine revelation received by him, the person who was to destroy the camel would be born that very month. Accordingly the people of Thamûd agreed to kill every male infant born during that period of time, in order to preserve the she-camel from injury; during it (*i.e.* during the month), however, nine boys happened to be born, and they were slain in conformity with this resolution. When the tenth child entered this world, his father, whose name was Sâluf, was loath to kill him, because he never had any children before. He, therefore, preserved him and named him Qadâr, who became a very skilful archer when he attained maturity, and surpassed his contemporaries in all material accomplishments. Every time Qadâr met any of the nine men who had killed their sons, he reproached them with the deed, and when they beheld his attainments, their sorrow and repentance increased, until at last they began to consider Sâlah to be the cause of the loss of their offspring, and were inclined to murder him. They left their tribe under the pretence of a journey, concealed themselves in a cave, and intended to issue from it at midnight in order to assassinate Sâlah in his sleep, the

cavern, however, suddenly collapsed over their heads, and they were buried under the débris. When the people became aware of this event, they immediately determined to hamstring the she-camel, and were seconded in their intentions by two women, who had all their lives harboured intentions of the same kind. In short, in that nation there was an old woman of the family of Thamûd, whose name was A'nezah; she was very rich, had beautiful and pleasing daughters, and numberless cattle. She bore great enmity to Sâlah—u w. b. etc.—on account of the injury which the she-camel occasioned, and because it shared the pastures with her own cattle. There was also another woman in the tribe, called Sadûf, who was extremely opulent and handsome. Her husband had become a follower of Sâlah, and had spent some of his wife's fortune to promote his religion. When Sadûf became aware of this fact, she separated from her husband, and spent the remainder of her property, whereon implacable hatred towards Sâlah took root in her impure mind likewise. These two impudent females associated with some of the chiefs of the infidels in the matter of the she-camel, threw lots who was to execute the project, and selected Qadâr the the son of Sâluf, with Massda' the son of Mahruj, whom they accordingly met When Sadûf opened her mind to the last-named individual she stated that the dowry required by her would be the death of Sâlah's she-camel: A'nezah on her part also promised Qadâr Bin Sâluf to let him have the handsomest of her daughters in marriage if he would hamstring the camel, meanwhile the women presented these two individuals with a sum of ready cash, and various goods as an earnest. These accursed ones accordingly picked out seven other men from among the worst of the tribe, and were in ambush when the camel was going to drink. Massda' first shot an arrow and wounded her foot, whereon Qadâr, who was a short-bodied, blue-eyed, turbulent blackguard, drew his sword, overtook the camel, and hamstrung her. When the seven other men arrived they slaughtered the camel, and the people of Thamûd

vied with each other to get pieces of the meat, as on the occasions when a camel was being slain for a sacrifice. The young camel was so frightened at this dreadful event, that it fled to the top of a mountain.

When Sâlah had been apprised of the perpetration of this abominable crime, he made his appearance among the people, who begged his forgiveness, assuring him that they had no knowledge of this act, and that it had been committed by those men entirely without their advice or approbation. On that occasion the faithful besought Sâlah to pray that the people of Thamûd might be spared the misery of the threatened chastisement. He advised them to endeavour to obtain possession of the young camel, hoping that by the blessing to result therefrom the Almighty—w. n. b. e., etc —would perhaps not punish them. The people of Thamûd hastened towards the mountain after the young camel, but its summit rose, by the command of Allah, so high up the firmament, that even birds could not ascend to it Sâlah followed the people to the mountain, and when the young camel had perceived him from the top thereof, it exclaimed thrice. 'O Sâlah! weep for my mother" and then disappeared. Sâlah now assured the people, that on account of the voice they had heard, they would be respited one day, but that on the fourth day the punishment of God would overtake them, and they would obtain the reward of their works, according to the verse 'Enjoy your homes three days, and this is no mendacious promise' They, nevertheless, asked by way of derision. 'What will be the sign of the judgment to come?' Sâlah then informed them thus: 'To-morrow your faces will be yellow, after to-morrow red, and on the third day black, but on the fourth day the chastisement of the Omnipotent Avenger will overtake you' After Sâlah had uttered these words, the nine men who had girded their loins to destroy the she-camel and had slain it, determined to assassinate Sâlah. They entered his house on the same day and lay in wait for him, but a legion of angels broke the heads of those malefactors with stones, and thus put an

end to their evil design. When the tribe heard of this event, they accused Sâlah of the murder of their clansmen, and agreeing to put him away, they hastened to his abode; his followers and adherents reminded them, however, that as Sâlah had forewarned them of the affliction which would befall them after three days, and that if his prediction turned out to be true, there would be no use in molesting him, and on the contrary, they would only augment the wrath of God; but in case Sâlah should, after the expiration of the appointed time, prove to be a liar, they might do to him whatever they thought fit. These words brought the people to their senses, they returned to their homes, left Sâlah alone, and spent the night in great uneasiness and expectation. When the morn broke they perceived that their ill-fated countenances were yellow, as if they had been dyed with saffron. In the height of their fear and disquietude they again hastened to the dwelling of Sâlah; the latter, however, learnt the intention of the idolaters and took refuge in the house of one of the chiefs of the people of Thamûd, whose name was Nafyl, but who was also called Abu Hadab. After the infidels had heard of his whereabouts, they followed him there also, but when they saw that Nafyl, in spite of his unbelief and idolatry, granted protection to Sâlah, they returned disappointed and sad. On the second day—which was a Friday, and was called A'rûba among the people of Thamûd—their faces became red like blood; they were now certain of the approaching disaster, and they exclaimed with lamentations and wailings: 'Two days of the appointed time are past!' On Saturday their rosy cheeks became black, as if they had been smeared with pitch and tar. When the night had set in, Sâlah made his appearance among them secretly, and emigrated with all the believers to the country of Filisteen in Syria. On Sunday morning, which was the eve of the [end of the] prosperous life of the infidels, the people of Thamûd got ready their shrouds and the things necessary for dying persons. They threw themselves upon the ground, looking alternatively towards heaven and earth,

until at last a terrible voice, coming from the upper regions, began to resound in their ears, so that their hearts were smitten, their livers burst, and all of them expired, as the Almighty said: 'Whereupon a terrible noise from heaven assailed them, and in the morning they were found in their dwellings prostrate on their breasts and dead.'[110] Masu'di narrates in the *Akhbâr-uzzamân* that because of that dreadful shout no one of the people of Thamud remained alive, except a woman afflicted with paralysis, whose name was Durya'a, and who greatly hated Sâlah. After the catastrophe her limbs became straight and sound; she quickly left the country and betook herself to Vadi-ulqara, to the inhabitants whereof she narrated the dreadful event. After having finished her tale, she asked for some water, which she drank, and surrendering her soul to the Owner of spirits, hastened to hell. A man of the name of Abu Ruga'l, who belonged to the same tribe, remained alive in the sanctuary of Mekkah and no ill befell him there; but as soon as he had left it he went the same way which his clansmen had gone, and was buried with a horn of gold which he had been carrying It is related that the lord of prophecy [Muhammad] addressed on a certain occasion his companions when passing near the tomb of this man, which he pointed out to them, and related the circumstances of his death and burial, whereupon his companions opened the grave and took out the horn of gold.

It is related that after the people of Thamûd had been overtaken by sudden destruction in consequence of the predestined decree and of irresistible fate, and Sâlah had emigrated, he felt, after some time, a yearning to revisit his native country, and, after returning to it, he wept much and deplored the obduracy of his countrymen which had been the cause of their ruin. He had also spiritual conversations with the souls of the departed, and thereon again travelled back to Filisteen. Some time afterwards, however, he went to the noble sanctuary of the Lord in Mekkah, and made it his home. In that place he also

[110] Qurân, ch vii. 76.

departed from this perishable abode and mansion of darkness.

It is related, after Ebn A'bbâs, u. w. b., etc., that when Sâlah despaired of the people's accepting the faith, he was much distressed, and prayed that God would allow him to travel in order to meet some of his accepted worshippers, so as to associate with them for awhile. After obtaining permission, he roamed about the country and met an individual engaged in the service of the Omnipotent Nourisher. Sâlah asked this man why he was quite alone, whereon the hermit informed him that formerly a great town had been in that locality, none of the inhabitants whereof had adored the most wise God; consequently, the decree for their extermination was issued from the glorious court of the Lord of Unity, so that not one of the inhabitants had been left alive except himself, and that, having many reasons to be thankful, he was now constantly engaged in worshipping the Lord of lords. Sâlah, having likewise offered his own thanksgivings, travelled towards the sea, and arrived after his voyage in an island where he saw a man engaged in prayer, Sâlah asked him the reason for dwelling in that isle, and the man informed him that he had been in a ship with most wicked persons, none of whom prayed to God except himself At last all of them were, by the command of the Almighty, drowned in the sea, whereon he gratefully and constantly engaged in adoring his Maker. Sâlah took leave of him also, and some time afterwards arrived in a town, all the inhabitants of which were unbelievers, he found only two pious men therein, who were during the day occupied in earning their bread, and gave in the evening the surplus of their wants to the indigent by way of alms. Sâlah was one day sitting with them, and when the evening approached a fearful voice struck their ears. On inquiry he found it to be the roaring of a monster which issued from the sea each day about this time, and destroyed everyone it could get hold of. Sâlah asked what his reward would be if he killed the monster, and delivered the city from this affliction. The said two men

then informed the inhabitants, who agreed to give to Sâlah one-half of their possessions. Thereupon the latter addressed his prayers to the Mansion of Unity; they met with response, the monster burst in twain, the people kept their promise and abandoned one-half of their property to Sâlah, who, in his turn, begged those two pious men to accept it; they, however, refused and assured him that their daily income was sufficient for them. Thereupon Sâlah returned the property to its owners, and thanked the Almighty for having allowed him to meet some of His servants, then a divine allocution reached him as follows: 'O Sâlah! knowest thou not that I have servants with whose existence the order of the world is bound up and connected; if they were not obedient to me I would not cast a single glance upon the rebellious.' After this Sâlah returned to his native country, and his people met the fate decreed for them [*i.e.* they died].

Description of his Person—He was very handsome, the complexion of his face was white, his hair black, he had a full-grown stature and a broad breast, straight beard and moustache, and a very corpulent body.

His Qualities—According to the current opinion he was not yet of age when he was honoured by becoming a prophet. His speech was eloquent and pleasing, he never wore shoes, and always walked about barefoot. It is said that during his whole life he never sought shelter under the roof of a house. Many of the sermons he preached have been preserved, and most of them are contained in the 'Noâdir-ullâkhbâr,' the author whereof is A'bd-ulhâkum Jauhari His law was more or less similar to that of Nûh, u. w. b., etc.

His occupation was commerce, and after he had terminated divine service he engaged therein The duration of his life was, according to some opinions, two hundred and fifty-eight, but, according to the most correct tradition of chroniclers, it was two hundred and eighty years, according to another opinion it was eighty, according to another eighty-five, and, lastly, according to yet another it was two

hundred years. But He [*i.e.* Allah] knows the true state of the case. His august tomb was situated in the noble city of Mekkah, near the sanctuary in the house of assembly.

Story of Zulqarneen.[111]

It has been mentioned above that, according to the majority of historians, there were no other prophets sent between Nûh and Ebrahim, except Hûd and Sâlah. Some of the ancients, however, tell us that the greater Zulqarneen had been honoured after Sâlah and before Ebrahim with the exalted dignity of ambassadorship and prophecy; and Mujâhad has informed us after A'bdullah Bin O'mar—u. w. b., etc.—that the greater Zulqarneen was one of the prophets sent by God, and that the reason for the truth of this assertion is, because the glorious Lord of unity had honoured him with the allocution, 'O Zulqarneen!'[112] which cannot be addressed except to the perfect essences and virtuous spirits of prophets, u. w. b. p. According to the most correct tradition Zulqarneen was not Alexander the Grecian, whose biography is recorded in the history of the kings of Persia, because his genealogy ascends to Yâfuth the son of Nûh, whereas Alexander the Greek is one of the descendants of A'yss the son of Esahâq, of the children of Sâm the son of Nûh. This view has been adopted by commentators, such as I'mâd-ud-din Bin Kathir in his book entitled 'Bedâyet wa Nuhâyet,' and arguments have been adduced in support of the truth of his having been a prophet. Sanân Bin Thâbut Allashbuhi has related in his work entitled 'Jâmi' that Zulqarneen had been sent after Sâlah, and that he lived in Europe, possessed of great power and an extensive kingdom, and was constantly engaged in waging wars against infidels, until his noble disposition impelled him to visit various cities and countries. He first undertook an expedition to the West, and, as infidels dwelt there who would not be admonished by his words, nor desist from idolatry, infidelity

111 Literally *the Two-horned*. 112 Qurân, ch. xviii. 85, 93.

and sinful acts, he sojourned one year among them, and attacked and exterminated the majority of them with his merciless scimitar. After having established a Musalmân colony in that country, he went to Jerusalem and remained there for some time; then he turned towards the East, and journeyed till he approached the habitations of Yajûj and Majûj[113] Zulqarneen there entered a city which contained a large population, governed by a noble, affable and handsome king who hastened to meet Zulqarneen; as soon as he was informed of his approach, he brought offerings of nice and acceptable presents, and became a partaker in the obedience to the Lord of both worlds.[114] Zulqarneen looked at the sovereign and the people of that country with mercy, and rejoiced them with his favours. As they had been for a long time oppressed and injured by Yajûj and Majûj, and were unable to resist them, they were glad to inform Zulqarneen of all this, who, trusting in divine grace, made the necessary preparations to remove the oppression and tyranny of Yajûj and Majûj

Notice of Yajûj and Majûj[115]

It is related that Manshaj, one of the children of Yâfuth, had two sons named Yajûj and Majûj, and since every one of his sons had obtained a country, these two latter ones proceeded to the far East, to the vicinity of the region where the wall of Zulqarneen stands at present. There they established themselves and begat a numerous progeny, since, according to the opinion of A'bdullah Bin O'mar, u. w. b., etc, mankind are divided into ten parts, nine of which are the descendants of Yajûj and Majûj It is likewise recorded in histories that Yajûj and Majûj were two nations, each of which was divided into one hundred tribes, and that one man of these never died until he

[113] Gog and Magog. Qurân, ch. xviii 96, and ch. xxi. 96

[114] The visible and the invisible world

[115] *Gog*, 1 Chron., ch v. 4; Ezek., ch xxxviii 2, 3, 16, 18; Rev., ch. xx. 8. *Magog*, Gen., ch. x. 2, 1 Chron., ch i. 5; and Ezek., ch xxxviii. 2.

beheld one thousand children of his descendants. Their whole number was divided into three species: of the first kind were those whose stature was one hundred and twenty cubits high, but the breadth of their bodies was less; of the second kind were those whose bodies measured one hundred and twenty cubits in height and as many in breadth; of the third kind were those whose dwarfish bodies varied in height from one span to four cubits; these last were called long-ears. The elephant and rhinoceros were unable to cope with them, neither could any rapacious animals escape from them when they met them One of their abominable customs is, that when a man dies among them they devour his body Their food, however, mostly consists of crabs, which abound in that country. They have neither a law nor a religion, know neither God nor man, and live like animals.

Description of the Wall.[116] — When the dominion, oppression and despotism of Yajûj and Majûj had endured for a long time, and the tongue of complaint was stretched out on account of their enmity and violence, Zulqarneen issued a mandate that the passages between the two mountains, through which the enemy used to enter, should be dug until water is reached. Then large rocks were placed for a foundation up to the level of the soil, after that the wall was built of pieces of iron, copper and lead, placing them upon each other like bricks. Fireplaces were so arranged as to heat the interstices into which the fire was blown until the whole melted together and became one compact mass The work was continued in this manner until the top of the mountain had been reached, when the holes left in the walls by the scaffolding were filled in with molten copper and brass. The length of this wall is said to extend to a distance of one hundred and fifty Farsakhs; the breadth of it is fifty miles, and its

[116] The *Shâhnâmah* mentions a wall, built by Naushirvân the Just, for a similar purpose, it also contained an iron gate. The Chinese traveller Hiouen-Thsang likewise mentions a gate of this kind. Near Derbend, on the Caspian Sea, there are ruins which Muhammadans consider to be the remains of the rampart built against Yajûj and Majûj, Coussin de Perceval likewise identified these ruins.

height eight hundred cubits.[117] Muhammad Farghani [known in Europe as 'Alfaragius], the astronomer, and various learned men of later times, have denied this statement, and asserted it to be false; but as it is laid down in this manner in historical books, the author of this work considered it his duty to follow the ancients, and, by agreeing more or less with them, has obstructed the way of contradiction.

In short when the building was completed, Zulqarneen offered thanks to the Almighty, saying: 'This is a mercy from my Lord, but when the prediction of my Lord shall come to be fulfilled, He shall reduce the wall to dust, and the prediction of my Lord is true.' Then Zulqarneen journeyed to the farthest north, and arrived in a city the towers and ramparts of which were all of brass and copper, so polished that when the sun shone upon them the eyes ot the beholder were dazzled by the glare. The gate of the city was closed, but Zulqarneen cunningly despatched a man up to the summit of the wall, who glanced at the city and towards the army of Zulqarneen, and, bursting into a laugh, descended on the other side without returning. In this manner several men went and entered the city, without its being known what had become of them.[118] Then Zulqarneen turned away the reins of his intention from that region, and after traversing a great distance arrived in India, where he hastened to the south of the equinoctial line After seeing the whole inhabited world, with its mountains and deserts, land and sea, cities and villages, cultivated and waste localities, he stopped at Eskandaria [Alexandria], where he founded the city of Makadûnia.

[117] A Farsakh was three miles; and some take 18¾ Farsakhs to a degree. The oriental mile contains 2 184⅔ English yards; according to the Qamûs, however, the mile is a perfectly vague measure, differing just like the Farsakh in ancient or modern times

[118] According to the *A'jâyib-ulbuldân* [Wonders of Countries] of Qazuini, the town here spoken of is Bhot [on the Bœtis, *i.e.* Guadalquivir] in Andalûs [Spain] and the General, some of whose men were thus lost, was Mûsa, who had been sent there with one thousand warriors by A'bdul-Melik Bin Merwân, the fifth Omaiyide Khalifah, who reigned from A.D. 685 till 705.

It is related in the *A'jâyib-ullakhbâr* that it took one hundred and fifty years to build the just-mentioned city, and that it was surrounded by a wall so polished that on account of its glare the inhabitants were forced to keep veils over their faces. In one corner of the town there was a tower six hundred cubits high, containing a talismanic speculum, in which an army coming from any quarter of the world could be perceived,[119] and the inhabitants were thus enabled to make timely preparations for defence. It is said that the city remained inhabited during one thousand five hundred years; after that it was in ruins during one thousand, and now it is in ruins for two thousand years, since Eskander the Greek had built a town there which still exists in the present—*i.e.* the eight hundredth and first—year of the Hegira (A.D. 1398).

When the greater Zulqarneen had conquered the whole inhabited world, fulfilled all his secular and religious enterprises, and seen all the marvels of the universe, he disbanded his army, became a hermit in the desert, and was entirely absorbed in the worship of his Creator, w. n. b. e. A short time afterwards he heard the invitation of the Lord of Glory, to which he responded, 'I hear and obey, O Lord,' departed from this perishable world, and surrendered his life to the requirements of fate

Verses : If the wheel of fortune bears thee even to its top,
It will not spare thee in its turns ;
It is the same to friend or foe ;
Now it gives us the kernel, and now the husk.

Zulqarneen's Person, Name, Trade, and Tomb.—He was of a middling stature; had a white-and-red complexion; his head and eyes were large, and his hair black. It is reported in the *Akhbâr-uz-zamân* that his original name was Hermes, and that after traversing the East and the West, and seeing and experiencing the ups and downs of the world, he had been surnamed Zulqarneen. He was quarrelsome, and submissive [to destiny ?], but greatly

[119] According to the *A'jâyib-ulbuldân*, people could see as far as Constantinople in that mirror.

enjoyed political and religious wars. He was a basket-maker by trade, thus supported himself with his family, and gave away in alms whatever exceeded those wants.

RECORD OF EBRAHIM, THE FRIEND OF GOD, WITH AN EXPLANATION OF HIS BIRTH AND MISSION, U. W. B., ETC.

His father, Azar, who is also called Târakh, was from Kûthâria, a village near Kufah. According to the unanimous consent of the principal historians, the birth of Ebrahim—u. w. b., etc—took place when Nimrud, the son of Kana'an, the son of Kûsh, the son of Eram, the son of Sâm, the son of Nûh, was the ruler of the country of Babel. All historians agree that Nimrud reigned over the whole world, since it is recorded in history that four individuals governed the entire inhabited world—namely, two believers and monotheists, and two unbelievers or infidels. The believers were Zulqarneen and Suleimân; the unbelievers, Nimrud and Bakhtanassar The opinion, however, of Qâzi Beidhâví is that the mission of Ebrahim the prophet took place in the time of Zohâk the Arab, which is contradictory to the assertion that Nimrud was the sovereign of the whole world. The *Rauzat-ullâbab* informs us that Muhammad Bin Esahâq asserts that the dominion of the whole world fell to the lot of three persons only—that is to say, to Nimrud, Zulqarneen, and Suleimân the son of Daûd. Others have asserted that Bakhtanassar also enjoyed the sovereignty over the whole world, but their opinion has never been considered to be true, and here the quotation from the *Rauzat-ullâbab* terminates; but Allah knows best what is correct.

It is related that when Nimrud became established on the throne of royalty, the rose-grove of his prosperity and good fortune increased daily in freshness and magnificence, and the foundation of his greatness and splendour became more firmly established from hour to hour. He governed his subjects with justice and rectitude until the expiration of a considerable time, when Satan, who is from olden

times an unequalled champion in the arts of seduction and perdition, inspired him with diabolical suggestions of haughtiness and despotism, so that depraved imaginations having found their way into the mansion of Nimrud's perverted intellect, he overstepped the dignity of a sovereign, and coveting the honours of a god, considered himself to be the partner of the Omnipotent. 'Great God! protect us from what they utter, puffed up with pride.'[120] When the just-mentioned pretensions became fixed in his impure mind, he invited all persons to adore him, and having fabricated idols in his own likeness, he placed them in temples and monasteries, and commanded the inhabitants of the world to worship them. About that time Nimrud was one day sitting in council to decide certain affairs with the grandees of the realm, and with a company of soothsayers and astrologers. On that occasion the chief of the latter, Khâled Bin A'as, said to Nimrud that 'it appeared from the position of the celestial bodies that this year a man of wonderful power and great authority will be born in the capital [of Nimrud], who will invite the people to a new religion and law, and will likewise abolish idols and the dynasty [of Nimrud]' Khâled took pains to impress on the mind of the king the necessity of preventing this event, if possible; and Nimrud assured him that it could be easily done by appointing watchmen to prevent husbands from having connexion with their wives, and by causing trustworthy women to supervise the confinements, leaving all female infants alive, but slaying all the males which would be born The assembly approved of this remedy, whereon Nimrud placed a guard over every ten men to watch them. Azar, however, the father of Ebrahim, did not happen to be one of the watched, but one of the watchers, being one of the intimate friends of Nimrud, enjoying his full confidence. Numerous midwives were superintending all pregnant women, and allowed freely to go and come, without let or hindrance, to and from the houses, and were ordered to send every male infant who entered the world out of it

[120] Qurân, ch. xvii. 45.

again. Kasâi narrates in his history—and the responsibility rests with the chronicler—that during the time the accursed Nimrud was engaged in slaying male infants one hundred thousand of them were exterminated. It is also said that their number amounted to seventy-seven thousand. When the time was near at hand for the pure seed [of Ebrahim] to become fixed in the womb of a virtuous wife, soothsayers and astrologers hastened to the palace of Nimrud, [which appeared to be] strongly based, like the firmament, and informed him that, after all, his numerous projects would prove futile to hinder the dreaded event from taking place, as the seed would become fertilized on such and such a night. Nimrud then issued a mandate that on the eve of the just-mentioned night all men should go out of the city; he also appointed confidential watchmen at the gates, so as not to allow any one of them to return to, nor to permit any women to come out from it. On this occasion even Nimrud himself left the city with his friends, and when the women saw it empty they walked out of the houses and promenaded about. When the evening had nearly set in, the mother of Ebrahim arrived near the gate which Azar and a number of other men had been appointed to guard. As soon as Azar recognised her face his love manifested itself; he retained her, and had connexion with her that night, that God might accomplish a matter which He had predestined. The mother of Ebrahim kept her pregnancy secret for some time from Azar; but when it was no longer possible to do so she said to him: 'I am with child, and if it be a male we ought to give it to the king, because he has highly obliged thee by his kindness, and if we do what I suggest, his favours and gifts to us will yet become more and more numerous.' Azar consented to the advice of his spouse, and was very joyous. When the moment of her confinement was near, the mother of Ebrahim said to Azar: 'I am afraid lest some dangerous accident befall me whilst I am suffering the travail of parturition. I adjure thee, by our former love, to go to the idol-temple, to remain there, and to implore the

greatest of the gods—namely, such and such an idol—to grant me a happy delivery. Do not come out from that temple until my infant is born!' Azar replied that he would comply with her wish, for the sake of old obligations, and for the sake of relieving her mind from grief and apprehension. He accordingly went to the idol-house, where he remained during forty days and nights. In Azar's absence, and after her confinement, the mother of Ebrahim had prepared a subterraneous apartment, provided with all things needful for an infant, and after concealing Ebrahim in that place, she informed Azar of her confinement and safe delivery. When Azar had returned from the idol-temple and inquired about his son, Ebrahim's mother replied: 'May thy life be long! The child was very sickly, and died the same hour it was born.' Azar believed the words of his wife, and was grateful for her own safety. Whenever her husband left the house she went to suckle the infant, and when that boy of happy augury was two years old his mother weaned him. It is related, after A'bdullah Bin A'bbâs, u. w. b., etc., that Ebrahim grew in one day as much as other children do in one week; in one week as others in one month, and in one month as others in one year. When his mother tarried in coming she saw that Ebrahim sucked his own thumb, which emitted milk with honey, and nourished him. It is said that Ebrahim first manifested his intelligence on the occasion when he asked his mother, 'Who is my nourisher?' and she replied, 'I.' He continued: 'Who is thy nourisher?' She answered: 'Thy father.' He said: 'Who is the nourisher of my father?' She rejoined: 'The king.' He further queried: 'Who is the nourisher of the king?' His mother said: 'Be silent; for the king is the greatest lord, and there is none higher than him.' Ebrahim again asked: 'Is my face better-looking, or thine?' She said: 'Thine.' Ebrahim continued: 'Is thy complexion purer, or my father's?' She answered: 'Mine.' Ebrahim further queried: 'Is my father more beautiful, or the king?' She replied: 'Thy father.' Then Ebrahim said: 'If the king

be the nourisher of my father, why has he created one better than himself? And if my father Azar is thy creator, why has he made thee handsomer than himself? And, likewise, if thou art my creator, why hast thou made me more beautiful than thyself?' The poor woman was fairly puzzled how to answer her son's questions, and left him alone. When Azar returned to the house he perceived that she was quite embarrassed, and on inquiry she replied as follows:

Distich: A secret is in this breast which I cannot tell,
Which I cannot reveal, and cannot conceal.

After he had much pressed and interrogated her, she said, 'O Azar! the individual expected to change the religion of the world is thy son!' When Azar heard these words he was quite confused, and asked: 'What son, and what information?' Then Ebrahim's mother revealed the concealment of her son, and his being brought up underground, likewise the conversation which he had with her, and his denial of Nimrud's godhead, as well as all the circumstances from his birth to the present hour. Thereupon Azar went down angrily into the cellar with the intention of doing some grievous bodily harm to Ebrahim; but when his eyes beheld the august and well-boding person of the latter, the Lord, who changes hearts and eyes, inspired Azar with love for his son, so that he was unable to inflict any injury upon him, whereon Ebrahim had a discussion with his father likewise, as God—whose word be glorified—has said, 'O my father! why worshippest thou that which cannot hear, neither see, nor is of any use to thee?' But Azar, not being able to refute Ebrahim's objections, reproved him, according to the verse: 'Dost thou not like reprimand, O Ebrahim? If thou hadst not been reproached I would not have mercy on thee, and would altogether exclude thee.' It is said that the occasion of Ebrahim's quarrel with his father originated from the latter's giving carved idols to the former to sell them in the market. He carried them out of the house, tied ropes around their necks, and dragged them

thus to the bazâr, exclaiming: 'Who will buy a thing from which neither profit nor loss can be expected! What enjoyment will a carved statue afford to you? Rather worship an idol which has a soul!' When the people heard these words of Ebrahim, they purchased no statues, and began to doubt their utility. Azar, having been informed of this, angrily reproved Ebrahim, who, however, gave intelligent answers to his father, and convinced him of their truth.

The inhabitants of Babel entertained religious superstitions concerning the stars, the sun, and the moon, wherefore one night, whilst they were keeping awake, Ebrahim made his appearance among them, and began to speak disparagingly of Venus, of the sun, and of the moon, first calling them lords, but afterwards denying that they were deities, and saying: 'O people! I am innocent of your idolatry.'[121] The particulars of this will, however, be narrated by-and-by, at the end of the second tradition concerning the birth of Ebrahim. When Ebrahim's way of thinking, and his dispute with Azar concerning the worship of idols, had become publicly known, the people were highly astonished, and asked him what kind of a new sect or religion he had invented, but he replied: 'What are these statues which you constantly worship?'

Let it not remain unknown to the reader that whatever has been here narrated, concerning the birth and bringing up of Ebrahim, is, according to the opinion of the author, very reliable, the most current statements, however, set down by excellent and learned historians are as follows: When the astrologers and soothsayers had either from the aspect of the stars, or from dreams, obtained the information and conveyed it to Nimrud, that during a certain month of the year an infant would be born in the capital who would abolish all the existing religions; that his advent would bring great confusion upon the empire, and would shake the earth of royal authority, Nimrud asked whether the act of sexual connection had already

[121] Qurân, ch. vi. 78

taken place, in consequence whereof the child would be born. He obtained a negative reply, and determined to spare no effort to hinder such an event; he accordingly ordered all men to leave the city, near which he also encamped with his entire court. After some time, however, he despatched Azar, who was one of his confidants, to the city on a certain errand, telling him at the same time that he had been selected, in preference to others, on account of his perfect trustworthiness, causing him at the same time to swear that he would have no intercourse with his wife. When Azar had entered the city he considered with himself that, as he had not seen his family for a long time, it would now be proper to do so. As soon as he beheld his spouse, the fire of lust blazed up so lustily that the water of patience could not extinguish it; accordingly he spent some time with his wife in the embraces of conjugal duties. When the next morning had dawned, the soothsayers apprised Nimrud that during the past night a womb had received the deposit from which the birth of the dreaded child would ensue. He was so disconcerted at this news that he issued a mandate for the assassination of all male children about to be born that year When the signs of approaching parturition began to manifest themselves upon Ebrahim's mother, she went to the bed of a waterless river for concealment, and there gave birth to a darling the like of which had not been produced by Dame Nature since the creation of the world. The mother wrapped her infant in swaddling clothes, and hid it in a cavern, situated in the vicinity, so as to withdraw it from the sight of enemies. Then she returned to her home, and only went to the cave several days afterwards to ascertain whether the apple of her eye was dead or alive. She perceived, however, that her beloved infant was [alive and] sucking milk from one, and honey from another of his own fingers. Beholding this wonderful spectacle, the mother of Ebrahim took the finger of astonishment between the teeth of meditation, and after enjoying her son's aspect for awhile, she went to her house, but returned again to the cave as often as she

found an opportunity, and suckled the child until the time for weaning it had drawn near, which occurred, according to the opinion of some historians, in his eleventh year [!]. It happened one night, when his mother had arrived to contemplate his blessed person, that he asked her whether there is another world besides the place he was in, whereon she informed him that she had placed him in this narrow cave and secluded abode for the purpose of withdrawing him from the evil machinations of his enemies, but that the earth was great, the sky high, the world unbounded, and the universe immeasurable. Then Ebrahim concluded that hereafter he would no longer have the patience to dwell in a cave, he determined to leave it, to seek his creator, and so discover what his vocation ought to be. As soon as his mother was out of sight, he also left the cave and amused himself by contemplating the stars. Looking at the planet Venus, he said, by way of interrogation, 'Is this my lord?' but when it was near setting he exclaimed, 'Indeed I love not the setting ones.' Then he looked at the moon and said, 'This is my nourisher,' but when it likewise disappeared he retracted his opinion. When the shining morn removed the nocturnal veil from the light-spreading disc of the sun, the Lord Ebrahim beheld the magnificence of its form with the infinite radiations of its splendour, and said: 'This is my lord; this is the greatest!' But when the sun likewise withdrew its head within the skirts of the occident, the vanity of the adoration of celestial bodies was manifest to his enlightened intellect as clearly as the meridian sun; accordingly he turned away therefrom and said, 'I direct my face unto Him who hath created the heavens and the earth. I am orthodox, and am not one of the idolaters,'[123] but the poet says:

Verses. If I have looked at a moon-faced one with the sun of the heart,
I have looked only at that face which is the mirror of Thee!
Apparently I have sometimes longed for another.
Turn not jealously away, for my face is towards Thee!

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[123] Qurân, ch. vi. 79.

It is related that after Ebrahim—u. w. b., etc.—had left the cave, his mother brought him home, and, on presenting him to Azar, said that hitherto the fear of Nimrud had induced her to keep him concealed. Azar was delighted when he beheld his son, and was always caressing him, till the time when he began to manifest his aversion to idols, and to their worship. On this circumstance, however, the two traditions differ.

When Ebrahim began to invite the people to the orthodox religion and to the sublime Lord, and his creed had become public, Nimrud having heard of this state of affairs, sent for Ebrahim, who then went to the palace, but, acting contrary to everybody, did not adore the haughty tyrant. Nimrud inquired about the reason, whereon Ebrahim replied that he worshipped no one except the Omnipotent Nourisher. Nimrud asked, 'Who is thy Nourisher?' Ebrahim replied, 'My Nourisher is He who causes to live, and to die.' Then Nimrud ordered two men to be brought from the prison, one of whom he killed, and the other he allowed to depart. Then he turned towards Ebrahim, saying: 'I have caused one of them to die and the other to live.' Ebrahim then saw that those misguided persons who surrounded Nimrud could not be easily convinced of his false pretensions, and resolving to have recourse to plainer argument, said: 'My Nourisher causes the sun to rise in the east, do thou so in the west;' but Nimrud, being unable to answer, remained mute and confused. The Most High—w. n. be e.—said 'And he who blasphemed was astounded.'

As Nimrud was unable to refute Ebrahim, the latter departed, and began with all his might to invite the people to embrace the illustrious law and the white religion.[1] By the blessing of his august exhortations, untold multi-

[1] The term white or bright religion is sometimes used to express Muhammadanism. It is possibly derived from the light of Muhammad, spoken of in the first pages of this work, which is supposed to have been white. It may also have originated from the hand of Moses, which he drew out from his bosom *white*, and thus an infidel who becomes a Musalmân turns metaphorically white like the hand of Moses.

tudes and numberless crowds confessed the unity of the Deity and became followers of Ebrahim.

It is related that Ebrahim waited for an opportunity to demonstrate to the people the imbecility and abjectness of idolatry, to make it evident that statues are unworthy to be worshipped, and can neither profit nor hurt anyone. He meditated and hit on a plan, but hesitated to execute it until the festival of the idolaters had taken place, during which the people of Nimrud were accustomed, when the holiday drew near, to prepare handsome garments and costly robes, with savoury meats and beverages for the purpose of carrying them to the idol-temple, where they placed them before the statues on the feast-day. On the said day they betook themselves to the place of the celebration, on returning from which they entered the idol-temple, distributed those dresses and eatables to each other, and said: 'Our idols have thrown rays of blessing and favour upon these things.' They considered this act a good omen, an occasion of rejoicing and pleasure for the whole ensuing year. When the festival had arrived, the people requested Ebrahim to accompany them; but he refused on pretence of sickness, and said to himself: 'By Allah! I will surely devise a plot against your idols, after ye shall have returned from them, and shall have turned your backs.'[124] Some persons who were going to the place of the festival in the wake of the others had, however, heard these words When Ebrahim found the idol-temple empty, and containing no guards, the Friend of the Merciful One entered and addressed the idols by way of sarcasm, saying: 'Why do not you eat something? What is the matter with you that you do not speak?' Hereupon he broke all the idols to pieces with an axe, except the largest one, upon whose neck he hung the axe and left the temple. On the return of the people to the temple, according to the usual custom, they found the idols destroyed, and the axe suspended from the neck of the big idol; whereon they began to shout, to lament, and accuse him of impiety who

[124] Qurân, ch. xxi. 58.

had done this. From the blame and vituperation which Ebrahim had been in the habit of lavishing upon the idols and their worshippers, the latter were convinced that he must have perpetrated all this injury; therefore a great number of them made their appearance at the palace of Nimrud to explain the matter. Ebrahim was summoned, and the people who had heard his words concerning the idols bore testimony against him in the presence of Nimrud, who accordingly with his courtiers accused Ebrahim of having committed the act, but the latter answered, 'Nay, the biggest of them has done it,' and added, 'But ask them whether they can speak.' When Ebrahim had uttered these words the idolaters hesitated; everyone meditated within himself, and suspended his judgment. They all concluded that the right was on the side of Ebrahim, and said to each other: 'Verily, ye are the impious persons.'[125] These words were intended to convince them that neither loss nor gain could be expected from the idols, and that they could not even protect their own bodies. In short, the idolaters were greatly abashed and ashamed, but relapsing into their former obstinacy, they said to Ebrahim: 'Verily thou knowest that these speak not.'[126] Ebrahim answered: 'Do ye therefore worship, besides God, that which cannot profit you at all, neither can it hurt you? Fie upon you, and upon that which ye worship besides God! Do ye not understand?' After Nimrud and all the idolaters had been confounded, and unable to answer Ebrahim, he again began to preach to the people, and gradually many began to follow him. When Nimrud perceived that confusion had taken root, and the nation was favourably inclined towards Ebrahim, he ordered him to be imprisoned, whereon the hostile and obstinate party unanimously agreed to burn Ebrahim. By the mandate of Nimrud an enclosure was erected at the foot of a mountain near the city, sixty cubits long and forty broad, with walls seventy cubits high. Nimrud also ordered that, as an oblation to the idols, every man should carry a

[125] Qurân, ch. xxi. 65.' [126] *Ibid.*, verse 66.

donkey-load of wood into the enclosure, which was in this manner filled up; then naphtha and sulphur were thrown into it. The fire having been kindled, the flames ascended up to the sky, so that birds could not fly across them, nor were the people able to approach the fire. And being perplexed, the crafty Eblis came to their assistance, and taught them to fabricate a catapult, after finishing which he proved the perfection of his workmanship by projecting from it stones into the fire. Then Ebrahim was placed upon this engine in bonds and fetters. This dreadful circumstance disquieted the spirits of the upper and the nether world, who began to clamour and to shout. The angels besought God to allow them to save Ebrahim, lest he who acknowledged the unity of the Almighty should be destroyed; whereon the allocution reached them that they might help him, but that it would be strange if he were to look for their aid, and stood in need of their assistance. Hereon two angels, who were in charge of rain and wind, approached Ebrahim, and informed him that if he allowed them, they would send a small cloud with a little rain over the fire, which would either extinguish it altogether, or, at least, scatter it in all directions; but Ebrahim refused, and when he had been projected from the engine, and was nearly falling into the fire, the faithful spirit [*i.e.* Gabriel] met him in the air and asked him whether he wanted anything, and Ebrahim replied, 'Not from thee!' Then Jebrâil advised him, if he refused his assistance, to ask it from Him who could help him, because there was not a more dreadful event nor a harder fate than the impending one. Ebrahim then said: 'Inform Him of my case, and my deliverance will depend from my request.'

Verses: If I obey not the flames of love, what can I do?
If I hazard not life for love, what can I do?
They say, Why burnest thou like a moth?
As I am the lover of that adorned lamp, what can I do?[137]

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[137]a It is a part of the doctrines of the Sufis to consider God as the ideal of beauty, and the most fervent amorous compositions have been addressed to Him. In the above quatrain God is represented as the lamp, and Ebrahim as the moth.

Then the inspiration of the Most High Sovereign arrived to the effect: 'O fire, be thou cold, and a safety unto Ebrahim.'[128] Ebn A'bbâs says that if the allocution of the Most Wise King had not contained the word 'safety,' Ebrahim—u w b., etc.—would have perished of cold. It is related that the angels took hold of Ebrahim's arms and softly placed him on the ground. Jebrâil brought, with the consent of the gardener of paradise, a costly robe from that locality wherewith he invested him; and by the mandate of our Lord and Creator a space twenty cubits long and as many broad surrounded the Friend of God, and this area was full of aromatic and green plants, intermixed with various blooming flowers, and it also contained a fountain of delicious water. It is said that in the plenitude of His grace the Inscrutable Creator sent an angel resembling Ebrahim to keep him company, and ordered Esrafil[129] to bring a flower-bed from paradise, and to spread it under the noble feet of His friend.

Distich Who was honoured by stepping on His threshold
Placed his first step into the uppermost paradise.

It is also narrated that Esrafil was ordered to bring, every morning and evening, savoury meats from paradise for the nourishment of Ebrahim (O God, provide for us with Thy wisdom and favour!). When three, and according to others eight, days had elapsed, and the vehemence of the fire had subsided, Nimrud the rejected one ascended a high spot and looked for Ebrahim, because his unhallowed mind had always suspected Ebrahim's case to be a wonderful one, and that he might possibly have remained unhurt by the fire. He also dreaded that if his surmise should be verified, his own dominion would be jeopardized; but after communicating his fears to others, his courtiers reassured him, and considered it impossible that Ebrahim should have survived a fire wherein a mountain of stone would certainly have melted. Nimrud nevertheless beheld

[128] Qurân, ch. xxi, 69.
[129] Name of the angel who is to blow the last trump on the day of the Resurrection.

from his elevated position Ebrahim sitting with another individual among roses and fragrant herbs near a fountain of water. The aspect of that locality, which was more handsome than the garden of paradise, so dismayed Nimrud that he shouted in agony to Ebrahim and asked him how he had been saved from so great a calamity, and had been delivered from the vortex of perdition and established in so agreeable a spot. Ebrahim replied: 'All this happened by the favour of my Lord'; whereon he inquired also concerning the person near Ebrahim, and was informed of his being an angel sent by the Almighty to keep him company. Then Nimrud said: 'Thou hast a great God, O Ebrahim, whose power is manifested in the way we now see.' Then he continued: 'Canst thou leave the fire and come to me?' Whereon Ebrahim said: 'Why not?' and immediately arising, placed his feet on a mountain of fire, passed through the flames, went to Nimrud, invited him to confess the unity of God, to acknowledge the truth of Ebrahim's mission, and to be aware of the foreordained promises and threats; but Nimrud asked Ebrahim for delay, and consulted his friends and Haran, who enjoyed the dignity of wazirship. Haran said to Nimrud: 'Wilt thou, after having been the Nourisher of the created beings of this lower world, become the slave of the creator of the spirits of the upper regions, and thus descend from the throne of deity to the condition of servitude?' When the time of the respite [of Nimrud] had elapsed, Ebrahim condescended to pay a visit to the court of Nimrud, and invited him to accept Islâm; but he excused himself from receiving the Faith just then, but averred that he would offer a great sacrifice to Ebrahim's Nourisher. Thereupon the Friend of God informed him that if he would not believe, his sacrifice would not be acceptable. Nimrud, however, would not be deterred, but prepared a great altar, whereon he sacrificed four thousand kine, one hundred thousand sheep, camels, and other animals. This was, however, of no avail, and on account of Haran's diabolical advice he was at last received in the abyss of eternal perdition

Although the following tradition differs from that which has just been narrated—but has been recorded in several respectable chronicles—the author of this work has considered it incumbent upon himself to take notice of it, lest critics should accuse him of apathy and obliviousness. He also hopes that wherever the gentle and intelligent reader meets in these pages with defects, to ascribe them to the various books from which the narratives labouring under them have been taken.

It is related in some books that when the Lord Ebrahim had issued from the calamity of the fire, like a hair from a trough of leaven, Nimrud challenged him to fight. Ebrahim agreed, and, having fixed a day, implored the Lord of Glory to cause Nimrud to perish, with all his followers, by the meanest and most despicable of creatures His prayer was granted, and on the appointed day Nimrud marched out of the city with a perfectly-armed host of troops more numerous than locusts or ants, and halted with his army in battle array in a spacious plain. His lordship the refuge of amity [*i.e.* Ebrahim, the Friend of God] likewise arrived, and halted, quite alone, opposite to the army of Nimrud. Thereon the latter asked him with amazement where his army was, and Ebrahim replied that God—whose magnificence be glorified—would send it by-and-by As soon as the conversation was ended, countless numbers of gnats made their appearance by the mandate of God, fell upon the army of transgressors, ate up their accoutrements, their flesh, and their very bones, so that no trace was left of them.

Record of Nimrud's Attempted Ascents to Heaven, and of his Folly becoming Notorious to the Inhabitants of the World.

What follows is mostly based upon the narrative of Muhammad Bin Jarir Tabari, which Hâfez Abru has abridged (may the mercy of Allah be on both of them). The gist of the history is, that when Nimrud had witnessed

the extinction of the pile of fire, and had beheld the roses produced therein by the benign Creator, he aspired to ascend to heaven, that the Mighty Avenger might cause him to participate in some of the evidences of that power which he had seen displayed in favour of the friend of the Merciful One. He consulted intelligent men on this point, but they informed him that ascension to the contignations of heaven would be impossible without the aid of Borâq.[130] Nimrud was, however, obstinate in his purpose, and spent many years in erecting a tower, which was so high that the bird of imagination could not reach its summit When it was completed he ascended to the pinnacle of the spire, but the aspect of the heavens remained precisely the same as from the surface of the earth. This astonished and perplexed him. The next day the tower fell, and such a fearful noise struck the ears of the inhabitants of Babel that most of them fainted from the effects thereof, and when they had recovered their senses they forgot their own language, so that every tribe spoke a different idiom, and seventy-two tongues became current among them. The confusion of languages having taken place in that city, it was surnamed Babel.

When the tower had crumbled to pieces, Nimrud desisted not from his intention, but swore an oath that he would not abandon it before he had seen the God of heaven. He accordingly fed four eaglets for two years on meat, and gave them wine to drink, so that they attained a degree of strength and development beyond which it was impossible to rear them. Then he ordered a cage to be made sufficiently large to contain two persons; he got it also provided with two doors, the one above and the other below. On the four corners of this box four sticks were fixed, on each of which a piece of meat was suspended by a rope, and the eagles were kept fasting until they became extremely hungry, whereon he took a seat in the cage with one of his friends. When the eagles perceived the meat above their heads they desired to get hold thereof, and

[130] See footnote 17 on this supernatural quadruped.

consequently bore the cage aloft, flying towards the upper regions. When they had thus progressed during one day and one night, Nimrud opened the door above and contemplated the sky, which appeared to him the same as when he had beheld it from our terrestrial domicile. He then opened the nether door and perceived that the whole earth resembled a sea of water, and the mountains appeared to his eyes like ants They continued one day and one night more in the upper regions, and then, opening the door above, they saw the heavens in the same state as before; but on locking through the lower door they perceived nothing but darkness, which so frightened Nimrud that he ordered his companion to turn the pieces of meat in the contrary direction and downward, whereon the eagles soared to the lower regions, but their flying was accompanied by such dreadful sounds that they imagined some great calamity was descending upon them from heaven; even the earth itself began to quake from the dreadful noise, and the mountains were nearly collapsing. When Nimrud had again reached the earth he became weary, and ashamed of his adventure According to the opinion of Tabari, the King of kings—whose magnificence be glorified—sent an angel in the shape of a man for the purpose of advising Nimrud, after four hundred years of his reign had elapsed, saying. 'O impotent servant, give up these deeds, for they are much disliked, confess the unity of the Creator, and attempt no further temerity like this. Repent of the evil acts thou hast committed; for thou hast thrown Ibrahim, the prophet of God, into the fire, and hast exiled him from his native country. Other wicked acts have likewise originated from thee, after which thou hast attempted to ascend to heaven

Distich. Hadst thou dealt well on earth
Thou hadst gained heaven also.

Notwithstanding thy unrighteous deeds, the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—had granted thee four hundred years of dominion. Therefore fear the Lord, whose power and army are immense; whereas all the countries and troops

which thou possessest thou enjoyest only from Him. If He chooseth, He will this moment annihilate thee by means of the smallest of His creatures.' To all this Nimrud replied: 'I do not think there is any king besides me. If the King of Heaven has any troops, tell him to send them, that I may fight them.' The angel rejoined: 'Bring forth thy army, for the hosts of God expect a reply.' Thereupon Nimrud asked for a respite of three days to get his army ready. This was granted, and after the expiration thereof he had collected his troops, marched out of the city at the head of an innumerable army, and, having arranged it in battle array, was intent upon war. Ebrahim then made his appearance opposite to the army of Nimrud, who asked: 'Where is thy army?' Ebrahim replied: 'The God of the universe will send it this moment.' During this conversation such a number of dreadful gnats settled upon the army of Nimrud that the light of the sun was hidden from the eyes of the beholders. These insects commenced to bite the heads and faces of the soldiers; every one of them was engaged with his own person; all of them, nevertheless, united in their flight. Nimrud returned home confused and astounded, when the Lord of Grandeur—whose magnificence be glorified—again despatched the same angel in the shape of a man to Nimrud, to admonish him, saying. 'O impotent slave! thou hast seen how the Almighty—w. n b. e—has by means of the smallest of His creatures put thy army to flight. Fear at least, and believe in the glorious and exalted Lord; because, if thou refusest, He will annihilate thee' Nimrud, however, would not be warned by these words, and therefore the Eternal Sovereign ordered one of the smallest and most despicable of gnats to settle on his lower lip and to bite it. A pustule arose on the spot; the insect, however, returned and bit him on the upper lip also, which likewise began to swell and to give him pain. Then the insect ascended into the chamber of his brains, and commenced to eat them. Thus he became afflicted with a tremendous headache in consequence of his rebellious disposition; neither would the insect relent in

its labour of voracity until the head was struck with something, whereon the pain abated a little; by degrees, however, it increased to such an extent that iron hammers were kept ready and placed before Nimrud on the ground, and everyone who entered the assembly was, before he kissed the earth [to salute the king], obliged to take up one of these iron hammers and strike him on the head as long as he could bear it; and whoever performed this service the most satisfactorily was honoured by the king and obtained great favours, until he was at last, after forty years of suffering, delivered of this transitory life, and was grasped by the chastisement of futurity.

Record of the Departure of Ebrahim, u. w. b., etc.

The author of the "Târikh-uz-zamân" has narrated that when the Lord Ebrahim was delivered from the fire of Nimrud a number of the inhabitants of Babel, such as Lôt, the son of Harân, Sûil, the son of Bajûr, and Sarah, the daughter of Ebrahim's uncle, u. w. b., etc., had believed in his words, a disturbance arose in the kingdom of Nimrud, the number of Musalmâns increased, and the tenets of Ebrahim, having found their way among the people, gradually settled in their hearts. Nimrud therefore called Ebrahim secretly, and said to him: 'By means of thy mission this religion which thou hast introduced has brought confusion into the affairs of my government, and excited the imaginations of my subjects. Arise, therefore, and leave this country with thy companions and adherents; because thy Nourisher, having undertaken to protect thee, and pledged himself to further thy prosperity, will be a help and defence to thee.' Ebrahim obeyed this injunction, and departed from the country of Babel to Syria; some, however, assert that he did so without Nimrud's knowledge, and by an inspiration from heaven.

Ebn Jûzi states that Ebrahim's flight took place after Nimrud's death, and herein the two traditions differ. When Ebrahim resolved to travel he started with his cousin Lôt,

the son of Harân, with his female cousin Sarah, who was one of the most intelligent women of that period, whose father's name was likewise Harân, and with other company from his native country. After travelling for some time he arrived in the district of Harân, where he remained for several days, and married Sarah; thence he travelled with her to Egypt for fear of the King of Harân, who was an idolater. On that occasion the prophet Lôt separated from his cousin, on account of a revelation which he had received from the Eternal Sovereign, and on account of Ebrahim's advice. He went towards the Mutafakât,[131] and this story will—if it pleaseth Allah—be narrated by-and-by.

After Ebrahim had stayed several days in Egypt the following rumour about him was spread: A foreigner has arrived in this city,[132] and has a beautiful wife, the like of whom has not been seen. These words having found their way to the ears of Sanân, the son of A'vân, Governor of Egypt, he called Ebrahim, and asked him how the woman he had brought was related to him. Ebrahim feared that in case he acknowledged her to be his wife the king might either kill or order him to divorce her. Therefore he said: 'She is my sister,'[133] meaning in the Faith. The Governor of Egypt sent a confidential person with Ebrahim, who conveyed her into the assembly, where she was asked what Ebrahim was to her; but by his advice she replied: 'He is my brother.' Hereupon that accursed one lost the reins of self-possession, and intended to stretch out his hand to her, but Sarah prayed that both of them might become immovable. [This request having been granted,] he said: 'O woman, what hast thou done to me so that my hands are withered?' Sarah answered: 'This is a sign of the power of God.' Hereon the king began to implore her to beseech the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—again to bring back his hands to their former state, promising that he would

[131] This is the name usually given by Muhammadan authors to the *cities of the plain* of Genesis, ch. xix 29.

[132] The name of this city is not mentioned anywhere.

[133] Genesis ch. xii. 13, 19.

not touch her. Sarah accordingly lifted her hands in prayer to the mansion of Omnipotence, and her request was granted. He could, however, after all, not restrain himself, and extended his hands thrice after Sarah, and thrice they were made immovable; but at the request of the king, and by the intercession of Sarah, they were again restored to their former state by the Lord of Glory. At last the king presented Sarah with a female slave, saying: 'This is thy reward';[134] wherefore this slave was called Hâjar [Hagar]. Then he sent Sarah back to Ebrahim, in company of one of his officers, and ordered Ebrahim to leave his country. When Sarah met her husband she narrated the whole affair to him; but he was already acquainted therewith, because the Lord of Magnificence had removed all the veils [of secrecy] from before him, and he had been enabled to see everything. Then he necessarily departed from Egypt and journeyed to the country of Filisteen, which is situated in the province of Damascus, in a place where there was neither water nor cultivation. He accordingly dug a well there the water of which flowed up to the surface of the soil; but as he had spent all the food he had brought, and there was a great distance between him and any inhabited locality, he took a bag in order to go out in search of wheat, went away, and left his companions alone. Neither had he any money wherewith to purchase food; therefore he became much perplexed in the desert, and knew not what to do. At last he bethought himself, and filled his bag with gravel and sand, thinking that Sarah and Hâjar would be pacified on beholding a full bag. When he had returned home he fell asleep for shame, whereon Sarah and Hâjar examined the bag, which they found to be full of wheat; then they ground some of it in a handmill and baked bread. When Ebrahim awoke they called him to eat. He asked what he was to eat, and Sarah apprised him that they had baked bread of the wheat he had brought. He was astonished at this

[134] The phrase 'This is thy reward' is, in Arabic, *Hâ ujarak*, from which the proper name *Hâjar* is said to be derived.

news, praised the Benefactor, preserved some of the wheat for consumption, and sewed the remainder in a field. This story is also narrated in a different way; but as the substance of both traditions is the same, the second has not been inserted here.

When the Gracious Bestower of favours, whose government extends over all beings, had caused the water to flow plentifully from the [above-mentioned] well for the benefit of Ebrahim, many thirsty Arabs heard the news, so that a great multitude of them assembled around the well from the surrounding country, and founded a city, which is to this day called Ebrahimabâd. Some time afterwards, however, the inhabitants of that region extricated their necks from under the dominion of Ebrahim, and resisted him. Therefore he was grieved in his mind, and going out from their midst, settled in a place named Qasat, which is situated between Ramlah and Amliah. After Ebrahim had departed, the water in the well decreased, his antagonists repented of what they had done followed, met, and requested him pressingly to return to the country, but he refused. After they had been thus disappointed they informed him of the scarcity of water in the well, whereon he gave them seven arrows to place over it, in order to cause the water to flow out as usual. He also warned them that a woman who had her courses upon her should not take water from the well with her own hands. The people returned, acted according to his advice, and the water began to flow as before, continuing to do so for a long time, until a menstruous female acted contrary to the injunction, and immersed her hands into the water, which immediately became stationary, and no longer ascended to the surface, so that people were obliged to make use of a rope for drawing it After Ebrahim had settled in Qasat he never changed his habitation until he walked into the gardens of eternity

Let it not remain unknown that what has been narrated concerning the departure of Ebrahim is mostly according to the words of Muhammad Bin Jarir Tabari; but Qitby,

in his 'Ma'arif,' narrates it as follows: When Ebrahim started with his adherents on the journey to Harân he travelled towards the Ardan,[135] after crossing which he arrived in a town, the capital of a tyrant named Sarûg, whose superabundance of folly and meanness induced him to make attempts on Sarah's chastity. The latter was, however, protected by her guardian angel, and as a reparation for his boldness, the tyrant presented Sarah with a Coptic girl of the name of Hâjar. Ebrahim departed from that place, and travelled to Egypt, but as his world-adorning mind could not habituate itself to dwell there, he again returned to Syria and passed through the same town. Meanwhile, however, the Omnipotent Accommodator had removed Sarûg from the dignity of reigning over that country, the government of which thereon fell into the hands of Ebrahim, who became extremely rich in all sorts of property; one half of which he gave to his cousin Lôt, u. w b., etc., and the other he kept for the use of himself and of his family. By divine command Lôt went to the country of the Mutafakât, Ebrahim—u. w. b., etc.—then selected the place called the 'field of Harân,' at present known by the name of 'Qasat Halil,' for his habitation, and dwelt there.

Record of the Prophet Lôt, his Going to the Mutafakât, and of that which happened to his People

Since all historians have narrated the story of the prophet Lôt going to the Mutafakât, in connection with the narrative of Ebrahim, and the propriety of this proceeding is evident to all intelligent and discerning minds, the writer of these lines, who is a gleaner from their granary, follows the same method, and says: The majority of chroniclers agree that the Mutafakât were five towns in the vicinity of the Ardan[136] in Syria, and a few have maintained that they were in the land of Kermân. The first

[135] The river Jordan is meant.

[136] Genesis, ch. xiii. 11. 'Then Lot chose him all the plain of Jordan,' etc.

opinion, however, is the most correct. The names of these places are given by historians in various ways, but the languid mind [of the modest author of this work] has fixed on the following; namely, Sodôm, A'dôm, Assoâim, Adhôma, and Zha'r. Each of these towns contained one hundred thousand warriors and more, who, according to some opinions, were idolaters, committed wicked acts, sodomy, highway robbery, and the like. It is said that the first who walked on the unaccustomed path were the inhabitants of the Mutafakât, the origin of this wickedness being that Eblis entered the garden of one of the inhabitants in human form and began to destroy it. The owner of the garden intended to catch him, but he fled, and when the man came out of the garden Eblis continued his work again, until his wicked purpose was accomplished, and the man's efforts to get rid of him remained fruitless One day Eblis asked him 'Wantest thou me to leave the garden ?' He replied. 'What is the use of these words ? I wish thou hadst never entered it.' Eblis continued: 'There is no advantage until thou bringest my soul under thy subjection' To this the owner of the garden agreed. He even considered himself under obligations, and committed the obscene act When Eblis had departed from that garden he went to another, making his former proceeding the occasion of seduction. Thus he went successively to all the gardens, until his crime became common among the inhabitants.

It is narrated, after Ebn A'bbâs, that dearth and scarcity arose in some portions of Syria, whereon the people went to the Mutafakât, because abundant and cheap provisions were obtainable there. The inhabitants of that region were therefore so pestered by strangers that they assembled one day to consult in what way they might get rid of them. Then Eblis suddenly made his appearance in their assembly, and hinted at the wicked act which he had taught the owners of the gardens The citizens followed his instructions, whereon all the strangers fled from the country, and it became a usage in that town to deal thus

with every stranger who entered it. In course of time the ungodliness and obscenity of that town had augmented to such a degree that Lôt—u. w b., etc.—was sent to guide the people to the true way. He took one of their females to be his wife, forbade the people to commit acts of wickedness, and, lastly, invited them to acknowledge the unity of the Lord of Glory, to accept the Law, to believe in his mission, and admonished them to keep in mind his promise and threats. He preached to them and advised them; they, however, did not believe his words or listen to his admonitions, but conspired to injure him, girded their loins of diligence to do so, and said: 'Verily the punishment of God will fall on us, if thou be one of the righteous.' Then Lôt once more harangued them as follows: 'O my people, be mindful of God, w. n b. c., and fear His displeasure, because the chastisement of the Lord—whose magnificence be glorified—will be great and excruciating!' The people became excited at the words of Lôt, began to use insulting language, raised the standard of enmity upon their breasts, and determined in their unhallowed minds to expel and drive him away. At that time Lôt disregarded their impertinent machinations, continued to perform the duties of his mission, and, imitating the example of his august uncle Ebrahim, considered it his duty to entertain strangers. Accordingly, he always kept the door of hospitality open, until those wretches attempted to injure his guests by persecuting everyone who went to his house, and preventing him from enjoying Lôt's kindliness They never left the path of aberration and unrighteousness, wherefore Lôt elevated the hands of petition towards the palace of the Victorious Sovereign, saying 'O Lord, deliver me and my family from their wicked doings!' The word 'family' here used means the daughters of Lôt and their daughters, because none except these were adorned with the nobility of religion. The Lord of Unity responded to Lôt's prayer, and sent Jebrâil with a company of superior angels to destroy and exterminate that nation. These angelic personages were necessarily all handsome, beardless youths;

they first alighted at the house of Ebrahim, brought him the glad tidings of the future birth of Esahâq—which will, if it pleaseth Allah, be narrated by-and-by—and of the deliverance of Lôt from the hypocrites.

When the great angels were proceeding from the house of the Lord Ebrahim towards the Mutafakât, they arrived near the outskirts of the town in which Lôt dwelt, where they met his daughters, with whom they entered his house. One of these ladies entered the habitation first, and apprised her father of the approach of several guests, who, she said, were the most beautiful youths she had ever seen. Afterwards the angels also came and greeted Lôt, u. w b., etc., but when he beheld their beauteous physiognomies he was much distressed, and concluded that on this day of trial it would be necessary to conceal them from the people. Accordingly he locked the door of his house and prohibited ingress and egress into or from it to his followers, lest the news of these guests being in the house might become public. His unbelieving wife, however, watched her opportunity, and informed the rakes of the presence and of the superior beauty of the guests, in consequence whereof the chiefs of the people sent ten individuals to Lôt, who told the latter that, despite the prohibition to harbour strangers, he had just now several in his house, and that he must deliver them of his own free will, or that else they would act in conformity with the orders they had received, and would take them by force. When these ten men had delivered their message to Lôt, he replied that he would give his own daughters in marriage to the people, that they ought to fear God, and not put him to shame before these guests Then the messengers went back and reported the answer of Lôt to the people, but they soon returned and informed him that they had no wish for his daughters, and that he was fully aware of their desires. Then Lôt told them that if they knew he could offer resistance, they would not have dared to speak words of this kind. After that two of these men wanted to carry off Jebrail; he, however, breathed a wind upon them

that struck them with blindness,[137] and when they returned to their people they said that the guests of Lôt were sorcerers, because they had made two of their friends blind. The people again sent persons to Lôt, with the message that he had hitherto dwelt among them in the manner he liked best, but that as he had at present brought sorcerers to his house to strike their companions with blindness, he was forthwith ordered to leave their city, or else the people would come that very night and blind him with his adherents. At these words the Lord Lôt became very sorry, and imagined that the angels might really be sorcerers. Therefore he said to them 'Ye are iniquitous' When the angels perceived that Lôt had been intimidated by the threats of the idolaters, and had manifested a bad opinion about their own selves, they informed him of the reason of their coming and their persons, stating that they were the ambassadors of the Omnipotent Nourisher, and sent to destroy this rebellious and sinful race They likewise quieted the fears of Lôt concerning the threats of the infidels, whereon he became joyful and anxious for the extirpation of those evildoers Jebrâil then informed him that the predestined time for their chastisement was morning, and that it was near Lôt accordingly packed up his baggage, and departed from the town by the command of the angels and the aid of Jebrâil, in the middle of the night, with his family, which amounted to ten, and according to the tradition of Muhammad Bin Jarir Tabari, to twelve or fourteen persons When the morning dawned they had passed out of the Mutafakât and were travelling to the abode of Ebrahim , some of them, however, hastened towards Safar, which is also called the tribe Safira, because the inhabitants of that locality had not committed wicked acts, and were therefore spared the chastisement. When the true morn dawned Jebrâil spread out his blessed wing, and, fixing his feathers in the earth, uprooted the four towns of the Mutafakât from their places, lifting them towards the sky with all their inhabitants and cattle, to

[137] Genesis, ch xix 11.

such a height that the crowing of their cocks and the barking of their dogs was heard by the angels. Then he turned them all upside down according to the verse, 'And when our mandate arrived, we turned those cities upside down'[138] It is related in the 'Jâmi' ao'zim' that scholars and philosophers believe sulphurous matter to have ascended from the earth, and that a heavy smoke descended from the skies. These two substances having met in mid-air and filled it, the atmosphere began to move like the waves of the ocean, enveloped the country with its inhabitants, and a general conflagration ensued, which burnt everything. The earth also quaked so that everything fell to pieces, and praised be He who made this chastisement an example to the beholders'

Let it not be hidden to the minds of the noble and the perfect, which are world-embracing mirrors, that whatever has been recorded in these pages concerning the arrival of the angels in the house of Lôt, and the coming of messengers from the people, was written according to the tradition of Muhammad Bin Jarir Tabari and Hâfez Abru. But in some histories, the statements of which are here quoted separately, it is recorded that when Jebrâil arrived at the Mutafakât, they met Lôt outside the city in a field, and saluted him. Lôt thought them to be men and spent a day with them, but when the evening set in and the stay of the angels had become protracted, he would not invite them to his house on account of his wicked fellow-townsmen, who had prohibited him to entertain strangers. He was sorry for the circumstance, and interrogated the angels whether they had any knowledge of those evil-doers, and of the degree of wickedness they had reached, he also told the celestial messengers that, in his opinion, nowhere more depraved people than these were in existence. Hereon Jebrâil said to the angels. 'This is the first wickedness of which we have heard about these people.' Lôt put their minds at ease, they walked together, and when they arrived at the gate of the town, he repeated his former declaration,

[138] Qurân, ch. xi. 84.

and Jebrâil said, 'This is the second.' When they reached the door of Lôt's house he again uttered the same words, and Jebrâil said, 'This is the third.' Lôt then entered the house, told his wife to prepare a repast, and not to inform anyone of the presence of the guests, whom he had brought to the house by way of hospitality That woman, however, left the house secretly and gave the news to the people, at the same time describing the persons and qualities of the guests. The infidel fornicators then went to Lôt's dwelling, the porch of which became full of them. When Lôt saw this he sent Jebrâil into the house and stood himself at the door to keep off the intruders Some have related that Lôt had twelve daughters, whom he offered in his confusion to the infidels, invited them to marry the girls, and to let go the strangers They, however, replied 'Thou knowest verily that we want not thy daughters, and thou art aware of what we want'[139] At last the people prevailed and entered that part of the house in which Jebrâil was, and intended to drag him out, but he breathed a wind upon them, which immediately struck them with blindness Hereon the infidels accused the angels of sorcery, and threatened Lôt, but departed from his house Lôt was so frightened by the menaces of the people, that he likewise imagined the angels to be sorcerers, but when they beheld his terror they reassured him, saying 'Fear not, we are the messengers of thy Lord They shall not injure thee' The angels also informed him of what was to come, whereat he was highly rejoiced When a portion of the night had elapsed, Jebrâil seated Lôt with his adherents on his own wings, and conveyed them out of the city towards the town of Safar, but the people of Lôt were annihilated by the act of Jebrâil, as has been already described

It is related in all chronicles and histories, as well as confirmed by the word of God in the Qurân, that when Lôt departed from the ungodly people, Jebrâil enjoined him that during the journey no one was to cast a glance towards the Mutafakât, as God had said 'Walk away with thy

[139] Qurân, ch xi 81 (Genesis, ch. xix).

family during a part of the night, and let none of you look about, except thy wife, for the same thing will happen to her which will happen to them. Indeed, their punishment is for the morning. Is not the morning near?'[140] Lôt and his followers acted according to the mandate, travelled, and looked not about like his wife, who cast every now and then a glance to the rear at the Mutafakât, on account of the amity and kinship that subsisted between her and the infidels and their religion. When she was thus wistfully looking back to see what would take place with the people, a burning rock struck her head, and she went the same way with her clansmen, all of whom, either travelling just then or engaged abroad in some business, met the same fate and were despatched to hell. Allah—whose name be blessed—has said: 'And we rained upon them stones of baked clay, one following another, and being marked from the Lord, and they are not far distant from those who act unjustly'[141] It is related that one of their number was in the sanctuary of Mekkah, when a stone was suddenly coming towards him, but the angels exclaimed 'O stone, injure him not, because in the sanctuary of the Lord he is protected from every affliction' That stone returned, and remained stationary in mid-air until the said obdurate individual came out from the sanctuary, when it fell on his head and killed him. Let us fly for refuge to Allah from his wrath!

According to the most correct tradition, Lôt joined the Lord Ebrahim without delay and dwelt with him. When seven years had elapsed after the destruction of the people, he was received to the propinquity of the mercy of God on Wednesday, the second day of the month Rabi' the first. 'We belong to Allah, and to him we return.'[142]

[140] Qurân, ch. xi 83.
[141] *Ibid.*, verse 84. [142] *Ibid.*, ch. ii 151.

Lot's Name, Personal Appearance, Law, Miracles, Length of Mission, and Sepulture.

His complexion was green,[143] he was of a middling stature, had black eyes, a symmetrical body, long legs and arms. He was called Lôt because Ebrahim loved him, and commentators say He was called Lôt because his love was fixed in Ebrahim's heart—namely, connected therewith.[144] From this we gather that his lordship was originally called by another name unknown to us.

His law was conformable to that of Ebrahim He was extremely pious, liberal, patient and hospitable. He cultivated the soil and was an agriculturist. One of his miracles was that he produced rain without clouds, and another, that he slept on a stone, upon which he left an impression of his blessed body, certain persons who had seen this stone became his followers The time during which he was engaged in his mission amounted, according to one tradition, to twenty and according to another, to thirty-seven years, nor is the length of his life known. His tomb is in the vicinity of the sepulchres of Ebrahim, Sarah, and Esahâq, the blessings of Allah be upon them all!

Record of the Birth of the Lord Esma'il, u. w. b., etc., and his Sojourn in the Sanctuary—may Allah ennoble it

When the Lord and Gracious Bestower of abundant benefits had given to Ebrahim—u. w. b., etc.—plenty of cattle, fields, houses and property of all kinds, he besought the Almighty, that after vouchsafing him His boundless grace and His unlimited favour, by conferring upon him all the blessings of this, and the promises of the next world, He would grant him a son, who might become the heir of the prophetic dignity and apostolic office, and that by inviting the inhabitants of the world to accept the law and

[143] This is a figure of speech, implying freshness and health.
[144] This is the meaning attributed to the Arabic root *Llât*

to follow the straight path, he might become the cause of their guidance. Sarah also, who was by divine predestination destitute of the qualities required for child-bearing, did not know how Ebrahim's desire for a son might be gratified, until at last she gave him Hâjar, with the hope that the latter might bear him a son.[145] Hâjar was very beautiful and young; and as soon as she had been honoured by the society and intimacy of Ebrahim, her pure nature became immediately impregnated with the cause, which was to give birth to the Lord Esma'il, who was accordingly born as soon as the time of her pregnancy had elapsed,[146] and proved to be an infant the like of which in amenity and beauty had never been seen before; nor had Dame Nature ever cherished such a child in her lap He was called Ashmuil in Hebrew, but his name was, after being much used, turned into Esma'il. Ebrahim loved him much, and kept him nearly always in his arms or on his back. Sarah became on account of this circumstance so jealous of Hâjar that she swore she would cut off three of Hâjar's limbs. When the latter became aware of this intention, she girded her loins for flight and absconded Ebrahim then interceded for her with Sarah, whom he requested to pierce her ears, and to cut off a piece from her concealed member, so that the oath might not be broken. Sarah agreed to this proposal, and after Hâjar had been produced, she acted according to Ebrahim's advice, and for this reason the piercing of the ears of females and circumcision have become a law After Hâjar had thus been punished Sarah was still dissatisfied, and jealous of her and of Esma'il to such a degree that she requested Ebrahim to convey both of them to a deserted place, without any houses or cultivated fields, and to abandon them there, solitary and alone. Ebrahim was under many obligations to Sarah, and could not refuse her; he was, moreover, ordered by the inscrutable Lord to comply with the wish of Sarah He therefore mounted a steed, fleet as lightning, seated Hâjar and Esma'il on a quadruped, and travelled by the direction and in the

[145] Genesis, ch. xvi. 2. [146] *Ibid.*, verse 15.

company of Jebrâil towards Mekkah. When they had, after completing the journey, arrived in the locality of Zemzem, Jebrâil said to Ebrahim that it was the command of Allah to leave the mother with her infant in that place. Ebrahim accordingly obeyed the injunction of Jebrâil, and abandoned them in the shade of a tree which the Almighty and Absolute Master had produced by His power in an arid spot, and had caused to become green. At that time the tribe of A'mâlekites was dwelling outside the sanctuary, because in the identical locality of that noble place there were no habitations. In fine, Ebrahim stayed during three days and nights with them The spot was extremely dry and rocky, without any buildings, the exsiccated, hot atmosphere was a result of its soil, and the aridity thereof was caused by mines of sulphurous red earth, so that it would be said that the burned territory had assumed the colour of red rubies. When Ebrahim was about to depart, Hâjar began to implore him, saying: 'I am a weak woman, my child is an infant, and the desert is frightful To whom dost thou leave us? Wilt thou abandon me? Where art thou going?' Ebrahim was touched by these words, and said 'I commit you to the divine favour, which is pledged for your preservation, and by His grace you will both be saved' Then Hâjar said 'I resign myself to the will of God, and I trust in Him.'

Ebrahim departed from the place, and when he arrived at the heights of Mekkah he cast a glance towards Hâjar and Esma'il, but knowing them to be uncomfortable without bread or water in the boundless desert, he exclaimed. 'O Lord, I have caused my seed to dwell in an uncultivated valley near Thy holy house,' meaning in the locality of the house, because at that time the house of the Ka'bah did not yet exist. Ebrahim lamented much, his eyes were full of water, and he turned his face towards Syria with a depressed mind. When Hâjar and Esma'il had spent all their food and drink, thirst pressed them sorely, the mother had no milk to suckle the child, and became impatient when she contemplated the helpless state of her

infant; therefore she ascended Mount Safa to see whether she could discover some inhabited place. Thus she stood on the mountain for some time, but perceived no help. She came down, gathered up her skirts, and walking with all possible speed, passed the Vâdi, and went up Mount Marva, where she also stopped, but found no trace of water or cultivation. This she repeated seven times, in the same way as pilgrims do at present. Every time, however, she had a look at her darling, to see whether some wild beast was approaching him. At last she heard a voice from the direction of Mount Safa, but could perceive nothing The next time a voice struck her ears from the region of Marva, towards which she proceeded, but could see nothing After that she heard in the place where Esma'il was the roaring of savage beasts,-but when she arrived near him she saw that a delicious fountain of water had sprung up by his side. Besides this, however, also another tradition exists concerning the origin of the water Zemzem.[147]

It is related that when the mother with her son drank of that water they were delivered of the pangs of thirst and hunger. Hâjar wished to obtain more water and to fill her leather bottle, but Jebrâil replied that there was no need of filling it, because this water would always remain there It is related that Hâjar took out the gravel and the mud from the fountain to make the water more abundant, and she heaped both these substances up around the well

Distich Where a trace of His foot is, there with our eyes
We take up the dust until water flows out.

On this occasion she heard a voice over her head, telling her not to fear the decrease of the water, because the abundance of the Almighty Donor had produced this fountain for the benefit of her son, and it would never disappear. She was then informed that God—w. n b. e—would ennoble her pious son with the dignity of a prophet, and graciously allow him to build in this country, in company with his father, the Friend of the Merciful One, a house,

[147] The well Zemzem is near the Ka'bah, and is covered with a cupola; its water is drunk on the spot, and also carried away by pilgrims.

which people from all parts of the world would visit and circumambulate as pilgrims, and likewise drink of this water. Hâjar was delighted at this news, and it is related of his lordship, the refuge and seal of prophets [*i.e.* Muhammad] that he said: 'The mercy of Allah be upon the mother of Esmâ'il; if she had left it, the Zemzem would be a spring,' meaning thereby that instead of being a well it would be a rivulet.

Record of the Arrival of the Tribe of Jorham at the Holy Sanctuary, and their taking care of Esma'il, U. W. B. H.

The tribe of Jorham were relatives of Ebrahim, and dwelt in the country of Yemen. They were trading and journeying by the way of Mekkah to Syria. After the well of Zemzem had been found, some of them were travelling, and arrived at the holy sanctuary, where they perceived some birds flitting hither and thither near the water, and others flying towards it. This appeared unusual to them, and they sent two men to examine the locality, who, when they arrived, perceived a woman with a child sitting near the well. The Arabs were rejoiced at this sight, and asked Hajar who they were, and whether they belonged to the jinn, or to the human race. She said that the Almighty—[illegible]—had produced the water for her benefit and for that of her child. Those two men drank of the Zemzem water, which they found sweet and delicious. Then they again asked, for the sake of obtaining certainty, whether any other person had a right to this water besides her and her child. After obtaining a negative reply to their question, wherewith they felt satisfied, they also received permission for their tribe to come to the water, and returned to them with all the needed information. Accordingly, all of them went to Yemen, whence they brought their families, adherents, and cattle, in the company of another tribe of their relatives of the name Qatôra, and after duly performing the journey they all arrived. The prince of the Beni Jorham was called Masâs, the son of Omar, and the name of the

chief of the Qatôra tribe was Samôa', the son of A'amer. Masâs encamped on the heights and Samôa' in the lower parts of that country, and having erected buildings in that noble-land, they gladly provided for Hâjar and Esma'il, who were much comforted by intercourse with the tribe of Jorham, among whom Esma'il grew up, and from whom he learnt the Arabic language.

Jebrâil informed Ebrahim concerning the affairs of Hâjar and Esma'il. Ebrahim was in the habit of visiting them once a year, he mounted Borâq, rode to Mekkah, saw his relatives, and again returned after a few moments. When Esma'il had attained his fifteenth year, Hâjar, who was highly respected, departed this life, and with the consent of her son, the Beni Jorham performed the funeral ceremonies, burying her according to her own wish in the great city of Mekkah in the vicinity of the Hijar [148]. Esma'il was so melancholy on account of the loss of his mother that he intended to leave the country. His friends and acquaintances, however, dissuaded him, and for the purpose of removing the discomfort of solitude, they married him to one of the noblest maidens of the tribe of Jorham. He became also much addicted to riding and hunting, so that he always roamed about in the mountains and deserts. The Friend of the Merciful [i.e. Ebrahim] happened one day to arrive in Mekkah, where he inquired about the circumstances of Hajar and Esma'il, whereon he was informed of the decease of the former and the marriage of the latter. He then hastened to Esma'il's house, whose

[148] According to the plan appended to Sale's Qurân the Hijar is on the north side of the Ka'bah, and he also says in Section IV of his 'Preliminary Discourse': 'On the north side of the Ka'bah, within a semicircular enclosure fifty cubits long, lies the "white stone," said to be the sepulchre of Esma'il,' etc.; and Dr. Sprenger, in his *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad*, vol. ii, p. 341, has a passage which may be translated as follows: 'With the western side of the Ka'bah a semicircular wall is connected, the longest diameter whereof is just as long as the side of the Ka'bah, and which recedes as many as four feet from the Ka'bah. It is called Hatim, and the space which it encloses is named Hijar; this latter designation is sometimes also applied to the wall, whilst historians call the space enclosed by it Hatim. Into the Hijar also the water from the Mizab [i.e. spout] falls.'

wife informed him that her husband had gone to the chase. Being unacquainted with Ebrahim, she showed him no civilities, so that he supposed her to be void of the ornaments of courtesy; accordingly he took leave and returned to Syria, but before doing so he requested her to tell Esma'il when he came back that a man who looked thus and thus had been there, and that he had asked her to tell Esma'il that the threshold of his house was not proper, and that he ought to change it. When Esma'il returned home at the time of evening prayers his heedless spouse informed him of what had taken place He replied: 'That man is my father, and the threshold of the house art thou, the changing whereof implies divorce from thee' Accordingly, he divorced her, and espoused another maiden of the tribe, adorned with good manners. When Ebrahim visited the sanctuary the next time and came to Mekkah he inquired at his son's house, who again happened to be hunting. His wife, however, hastened to wait upon Ebrahim, and dished up of whatever was ready, at the same time offering her best excuses. Sarah not having given permission to Ebrahim to alight when visiting his son, he ate food, mounted as he was upon Borâq Esma'il's wife had washed his blessed face, and begged to be allowed also to wash the hair of his lordship Ebrahim complied with her request, placed one of his feet on a raised stone, which was in the house of Esma'il, kept the other in the stirrup, and the mark of his noble foot remained on the stone. This time he spoke otherwise than on the former occasion, and told his son's spouse to convey to him the message that the threshold of his house was very convenient, and that he ought by no means to neglect or to change it After the departure of his lordship Esma'il returned from the chase, and his wife informed him of what had taken place, whereupon he replied: 'This is good news for thee, my beloved companion and spouse; for that old man is my father, the Friend of the Merciful One, who has recommended me to keep and cherish thee. I hear and obey God and His friend; therefore, I shall, according to all my powers, en-

deavour to please thee and to conform myself to all thy wishes.' Esma'il diligently cherished his spouse during his whole life, and never desired to marry another. Some of the events of his lordship's life will—if it pleaseth Allah—be narrated in the record of his mission.

Record of the Birth of the Lord Esahâq [Isaac] by the Power of the Inscrutable Creator during the Old Age of the Lord Ebrahim and Lady Sarah.

After the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—had bestowed Esma'il upon Ebrahim, Hâjar became exalted and vainglorious on account of this great gift, whilst Sarah was very anxious to have a son by whom the nobleness of her race might be perpetuated. When Jebrâil had been deputed with the angels for the extirpation of the people of Lôt, they first stopped at Ebrahim's house as has been mentioned before. All the guests were handsome-looking young men, and as Ebrahim thought they were really human beings, he roasted a calf and offered it to them. They asked how they could eat thereof, as they had not paid for it. Ebrahim replied: 'When you begin the meal say, "In the name of Allah," and when you finish it say, "Praise be to Allah," and its price will be paid.' Then Jebrâil said to the other angels: 'The Lord of Glory—w. n. b. e.—has not selected Ebrahim without a cause to wear the robe of prophecy.' They abstained, however, from eating, despite Ebrahim's invitation. At that time it was also the custom to consider anyone who would not partake of food offered to him as an enemy who wished evil to the host. Therefore Ebrahim was distressed, but they reassured him, saying: 'Be not afraid, for we are angels, who have been ordered to chastise the people of Lôt.'

On that occasion, when the angels were sitting in the habitation of Ebrahim, Sarah was standing behind the curtain, according to the word of God: 'And his wife was standing by, and she laughed; then we promised to her Esahâq and after him Yaqûb.'[149] Some have said that

[149] Qurân, ch. xi. 74; Gen., ch. xviii. 12.

here the words 'she laughed' mean that her courses had come upon her. Most expounders, however, take the expression in its natural meaning, although they differ as to the cause of the laughter. One opinion is that when the angels refused to eat Sarah laughed, saying: 'These are indeed strange guests for whom we have prepared roast meat, but they do not eat.' Another opinion is that she laughed for joy when she heard of the punishment in store for the people of Lôt; and according to a third, she laughed from astonishment when she was informed that she would bear a son because she and her husband were old; accordingly she said: 'Alas! shall I bear a son, who am old; this my husband being also advanced in years? Verily, this would be a wonderful thing'[150] The angels said: 'Dost thou wonder that the All-powerful One, who has by His perfect omnipotence and infinite wisdom created Adam the pure from dark loam without the interference of parents, should produce a gentle infant from the womb of an old woman?' When seven days had elapsed Sarah became pregnant with Esahâq, and after the completion of the requisite time the propitious star of his prophecy arose from the orient of glory.

Some have asserted that Ebrahim was one hundred, and Sarah ninety, years of age at the time of Esahâq's birth, and Muhammad Bin Almansûr Al-Nishapuri relates in the 'Qasas' that during the night of Esahâq's birth one thousand stars assembled in the sky in the sight of Ebrahim, who became astonished at their union, asked Jebrâil, and received the answer that it implied that one thousand prophets would originate from the loins of this infant. Then Ebrahim besought the Almighty Nourisher that, since such a favour was in store for Esahâq, He would likewise allow Esma'il to participate in some favour. Then the allocution reached him that a prophet would arise from the seed of Esma'il, who would be the supreme ornament and diadem of all the prophets, and whose intercession would be needed by the nations of ancient and modern times.

[150] Qurân, ch. xi. 75.

Ebrahim thanked the Almighty, and said: 'Praise be to Allah, who has given me Esahâq and Esma'il in my old age, for my Lord has heard my prayer.' Others have narrated that Ebrahim was, in his ninetieth year, divinely inspired to introduce the law of circumcision, and that he circumcised Esma'il in the thirteenth, but Esahâq in the first year of his age. Others state that Esma'il was only five years older than Esahâq, and others fourteen years. When these two august sons were grown up, Ebrahim was commanded to sacrifice one of them.

RECORD OF EBRAHIM'S SACRIFICING HIS SON ESMA'IL.

Theological and secular scholars differ whether Esma'il or Esahâq was sacrificed Many of the companions and followers, such as the Commander of the Faithful and victorious lion of God, A'li, the son of Abu Tâleb, may Allah ennoble his face, and O'mar, the son of Khettâb, u. w. b., etc.; and among the followers, Ka'b-ullâkhbâr, and Sa'id, the son of Jabir, Masrûq, Ab-uzzib, Sa'd, etc., mentioned that it was the sacrifice of Esahâq. But another galaxy of noble companions, such as A'bdullah, A'bbâs, Abu Hasiwa, O'mar, A'am, Abulfazeel, the son of A'amar, and Omm Solmah,[151] u. w. b.; and among the Emâms of guidance, Ja'fer, the son of Muhammad-ussâdiq, Sa'id, the son of Masib, Yusuf, the son of Mahrân, and Mujâhed, asserted that it was the sacrifice of the lord Esma'il. Each of these two parties has adduced arguments to support its assertions, which are, however, too lengthy to be recorded in this book The author has examined the claims of both sides, and has concluded those to be in the right who maintain that Esma'il's sacrifice is meant, therefore he has turned the reins of the pleasantly-trotting pen in the direction of the plain of their words, and hereby records that Ebrahim had made a vow that, in case the Lord of Glory should grant him a son, he would sacrifice him 'to approach God' [with a thankoffering?]. After Ebrahim had made the vow, Esahâq and Esma'il were born, but he

[151] She was one of the widows of Muhammad.

forgot his vow till one night, when he was fast asleep, he dreamt that a man said to him: 'The command of Allah has gone forth that thou sacrifice thy son.' When Ebrahim awoke, he meditated whether this dream had been sent by the Merciful One or by Satan; the second and third night, however, it was repeated in the same manner, and at last he heard in his sleep these words. 'O Ebrahim! Satan invites thee not to obey the Almighty Nourisher; but do thou what thou art commanded.' When it was morning the lord Ebrahim said to Hâjar. 'Comb the boy's hair, anoint it with oil, and dress him in a new robe!' Hâjar acted according to Ebrahim's command, and also told Esma'il to take a rope with a knife for the purpose of bringing wood from the mountain-gorge, to which Ebrahim afterwards proceeded, Esma'il following in his rear. On the road Satan met them in the guise of an old man, and asked Ebrahim where he was going The latter replied that he had some business in the mountain-pass. Thereon Eblis said: 'By Allah! Satan has decoyed thee to sacrifice Esma'il' Ebrahim, however, recognised him, and said: 'Be gone from me, O enemy of Allah, because I am fulfilling the command of the Omnipotent Nourisher.' Satan being thus disappointed with Ebrahim, went to Esma'il, and said: 'Knowest thou where thy father is leading thee, and hast thou ever seen a parent sacrificing his own son?' The boy replied 'My father does what the Lord has commanded, and I obey him.' When the evil one saw that he could effect nothing with Esma'il, he went to Hâjar, and said: 'Knowest thou where Ebrahim is taking thy son?' She rejoined. 'To bring wood to the house' The accursed one continued 'Thou art mistaken he leads him away to sacrifice him' Hâjar replied. He is more compassionate than to deal thus with his son' Eblis said 'He imagines that he is doing this business by the command of God.' Hâjar replied 'We submit entirely to the will of the Almighty.' Eblis retired, confused and disgraced, but a guardian-angel preserved Ebrahim and his family from the vexations of Satan.

When Ebrahim had entered the mountain-pass he said: 'O my son, verily I saw in a dream that I should offer thee as a sacrifice; what thinkest thou I should do?' He answered: 'O my father! do what thou art commanded; thou shalt find me, if it pleaseth Allah, a patient person.'[1] He afterwards also said to his father: 'Do not tie my hands, lest I struggle when thou slayest me, and my robe would be bespattered with blood. It is a hard thing to die. Sharpen also thy knife on a stone, that I may be delivered quickly. Lay me on my face, for fear that on beholding it, the chain of paternal commiseration might by its motion induce thee to delay the execution of the command of the Inscrutable Lord, and thereby to soil the skirts of innocence with the impurity of guilt. Present my dress to Hâjar, that she may be consoled by smelling its odour.' Then Ebrahim said: 'My God, to whom gratitude and thanks are due, Thou hast vouchsafed to bestow upon me a son in my old age, and now Thou commandest me to afflict myself with separation from him, and to sacrifice him. If this be Thy wish, who am I that I shall refuse to obey?' By the prayers of Ebrahim the angels of the upper and the nether world were moved to tears, and when Ebrahim had, after whetting the knife on a stone, placed it to the throat of Esma'il, the more efforts he made to sever the same, the less it would cut.

Distich If the sword of the universe springs forth,
It cannot cut one vein unless God wills it.

His lordship sharpened the knife thrice and drew it across the throat of his son, but the knife recoiled every time, and did not cut, whereat Ebrahim was much astonished, until the exclamation reached him from the invisible world: 'O Ebrahim, thou hast indeed brought the dream to pass.' The same voice then again admonished him to look in his rear, and to sacrifice that which he would see, because it would be the redemption of his son. Ebrahim then looked back, and perceived a ram arriving

[1] Qurân, ch. xxxvii. 102.

from the mountain. Some say that it was a sheep, which had grazed forty years in the meadows of paradise, whilst others assert that this sheep was the one sacrificed by Habil, and which the Almighty—w. h. b. e—had allowed to fatten in paradise. In fine, Ebrahim left Esma'il thus tied, and went in pursuit of the sheep. The ram had, however, fled, but his lordship ran after it, and at each of the three gravel-heaps, which are surnamed the first, the second, and the large one, he threw seven pieces of gravel towards the sheep, overtook it, and, carrying it to Mina,[153] which is the place of sacrifice near Mekkah, slaughtered it there. Meanwhile Jebrâil untied the hands and feet of Esma'il, and informed him if he had any request to make to the Supreme Ruler and Granter, that now was the opportune time and the fit season in which his prayer would be answered. Accordingly, Esma'il raised his hands towards the mansion of abundance, and said: 'O Lord! pardon all Thy servants who are believers and acknowledge Thy unity.' When the friend of the merciful [*i.e.* Ebrahim] turned towards his son, and perceived that Jebrâil had untied his hands and feet, and had understood his prayer, he said: 'My son, thou art strengthened by the help of God and seconded by divine grace.' Then the following allocution reached them from above 'O Ebrahim! the most truthful of speakers, and Esma'il, the most patient of the patient, you have fully answered our expectations in that wherewith we have tried you and tempted you, and you have been patient in that wherewith we have afflicted you! We shall make you of high degree in the garden of A'den, and we have in both worlds bestowed upon you the tongue of truth; for we thus reward the righteous. O Ebrahim! thou among all beings art My friend, and O Esma'il! thou of all creatures art My pure one.' Thereupon the august father and his excellent son thanked and praised their Almighty Nourisher.

We read in the history of Tabari that when the Friend of the Merciful One heard the verse, 'O Ebrahim! indeed

[153] The pilgrims still slay their sacrifices in the valley of Mina.

thou hast verified the dream,' etc., he so trembled from awe of the Bestower of favours that the knife fell from his hands. Then Jebrâil, who held the sheep which he had brought from paradise by the ear, exclaimed: 'Allah is the greatest!' and Ebrahim, who had perceived that ram, said. 'No God but Allah,' and 'Allah is the greatest.' Then he said to his son: 'Lift thy head, because God—w. n. b. e.—has delivered thee.' The boy got up, saw Jebrâil with the ram, and said, 'Allah is the greatest,' and 'Praise be to Allah.'

It is related in the 'Manâhuj-uttâlebeen,' wherein Sâduq Âl Muhammad says: When the Almighty—w n b. pr.—prohibited Ebrahim from sacrificing Esma'il, He said: 'I have preserved him from the knife, because he is the bearer of the light of Muhammad, the seal of prophets.'[184] On that occasion the Creator raised the veil [of futurity] and showed Ebrahim the high degrees and stations of his lordship the best of men [Muhammad], and of his family, saying: 'These are the children of Esma'il.' Ebrahim then beheld Husain, the son of A'li, and seeing the exalted dignity, asked. 'O Lord, to whom of the family of Muhammad is this station due?' The Almighty said: 'This is Husain, the descendant of Esma'il, and the son of the daughter of the last of the prophets [*i.e.* Muhammad].' Ebrahim continued: 'O Lord, I love Husain more than Esma'il.' The Omnipotent Lord—w. n. b e.—rejoined: 'We have received [the murder of] him as a ransom for Esma'il.' According to the assertion of Sâduq, Husain was the great sacrifice and the ransom for Esma'il—may the bl. of Allah be on both of them—and not the ram. This has become a well-established tenet, since a sheep is by no means worthy to be called by the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—in His Holy Word 'the great sacrifice', and here the tradition from the 'Manâhuj-uttâlebeen' ends, which the author of this book has faithfully transcribed.

[184] The light of Muhammad was mentioned in the beginning of this work as the substance from which everything else was created, and Esma'il was one of the ancestors of Muhammad; hence named the bearer as above.

From the preceding narrative it is evident that the first individual who was engaged in founding and building the Ka'bah, was the Lord Adam the pure, after whose decease Sheth was occupied with the construction thereof, and the inhabitants of the world were in the habit of circumambulating it, and of performing the ceremonies of pilgrimage, as Adam had taught his children. When the epoch of Nûh's deluge had drawn near, angels descended by the mandate of the Omniscient Sovereign, took up the black stone, and all the others which Adam and Nûh had brought from the mountains, and again took them into their own keeping.

According to another tradition, it is said that when the father of mankind had been expelled from the paradise of promise he had become extremely melancholy, and thus addressed the incomparable Sovereign: 'My God! since I no longer hear the voices of the angels, I feel very sad and depressed.' Then the divine reply arrived from the Lord of Lords: 'O Adam, we have sent down a house from heaven to earth, which the inhabitants of the world will constantly visit, in the same manner as the various classes of angels circumambulate always the glorious throne. Now thou must proceed to the holy sanctuary, so that the closet of thy heart, being freed from sorrow, may obtain perfect familiarity with the sacred apartment.'

Distich: Unless thy heart be emptied of strangers,[155]
Thou wilt not see thy house filled with friends.

Adam accordingly proceeded to Mekkah, under the guidance of an angel, and as each step of his lordship consisted of fifty Farsakhs,[156] he performed the journey in a very short time, attained his object, and beheld a house made of the rubies of paradise, having two doors of green emeralds, one of which faced the west and the other the east. The Lord of Glory also sent an angel to teach Adam

[155] No doubt the strangers here meant are worldly thoughts, which prevent heavenly ideas from entering.

[156] Not less than 900,000 feet per step, calculating 18,000 feet per Farsakh.

the customs and ceremonies of the pilgrimage, after the completion of which angels appeared to him, saying: 'O Adam, thy pilgrimage has been accepted by the forgiving Sovereign.' According to some traditions, however, this house was raised to heaven during the deluge of [the time of] Nûh, and when the waters subsided, the place in which it had been looked red like talc, and the people who came from various regions of the world to that sacred spot offered prayers to the Supreme Donor of all good gifts, and were apprised of the responses to their requests. Thus the place remained until the time of Ebrahim, when the Omnipotent willed that the house should again be erected, and the honour of having performed this work was to belong to the family of Ebrahim. Jebrâil was commanded to accompany him from Syria to Mekkah, in order to build with his son Esma'il the edifice of the Ka'bah, and to invite the inhabitants of the world to go on pilgrimage to the house of Allah. When the desire of building the Ka'bah had become firmly established in his mind, he started with the greatest pleasure from Syria to Mekkah

Distich · Love for the Ka'bah so excites my heart
That the thistles of the desert look like silk

When he had completed his journey and arrived in the sacred locality, he perceived Esma'il sitting at the foot of a mountain engaged in cutting arrows, whereon the exalted father informed his excellent son of the mandate, and the latter cheerfully complied. There are various traditions current about the manner in which Ebrahim learnt how long and broad the house was to be, most of which are recorded in the 'Rauzat-ullâhbâb,' and the author of the present work has extracted that from it which concerns Ebrahim, namely, that Jebrâil had informed him concerning the position and qualities of this incomparable place, whereon he set about with his son Esma'il to build the house of the Ka'bah. Esma'il brought the earth and stones while Ebrahim was building. When the foundations had risen to some height from the soil, and Ebrahim was unable to reach the wall [without a scaffold], he found a stone

upon which he stepped, and thus lifted the others up to the wall with ease; the marks of his blessed feet have become impressed upon it, and that stone is to this day called the 'Place of Ebrahim.' It is related that when the building had been raised to the height of the black stone, the angels, who had carried it off at the time of the deluge to the mountain Abuqbis, now brought it back, and Ebrahim fixed it in its proper place. It is narrated in histories that the black stone was milk-white when brought down from paradise, but had, from the touch of idolaters and sinners, gradually become black and dark like their hearts. Some have said that when the foundations of the house had risen to the spot of the black stone, Ebrahim said to Esma'il: 'Bring me a good stone for a sign to men.' He obeyed, but not meeting with his father's approbation, went in search of another and better stone, when the allocution was heard from the direction of Mount Abuqbis: 'O Ebrahim, thou hast a deposit with me; take it.' Thereupon Ebrahim took the black stone and fixed it in its place. When Esma'il returned from looking for a stone, he perceived the said black stone, and asked his father who had brought it. His father replied 'He who has not left either thee or me without stones.' When the edifice was completed, Ebrahim and Esma'il thanked and praised God, and after having finished their prayers, they said, 'O God, we confess Thee to be the most wise, and the hearer of prayers.' Jebrâil then descended, informed them of the acceptance of their prayers, taught them the ceremonies of the pilgrimage, as well as of the things to be done at A'rafat, such as the running, the throwing of stones, and the sacrifice, as they are practised also in our days.

After the father and the son had circumambulated the house of Allah and performed the ceremonies, Ebrahim appointed Esma'il to the government of the noble region and gave him instructions how to maintain it. When he was about to return to his native country, he ascended to the top of Mount A'rafat and looked towards Syria. He looked also at the country surrounding Mekkah, his

blessed mind being occupied with thinking about Esma'il and his glorious descendants, whose future existence was revealed to him by his prophetic light. He considered how arid, stony, and sandy that district was, the very mountains appearing to his enlightened gaze to be barren, without water or grass. All this was different from Syria, with its pleasant trees, delicious fruits, good climate, excellent water, and population of numerous tribes of the sons of men. When the Lord Ebrahim had weighed all these circumstances he was greatly moved, and raising his hands in prayer to the mansion of omnipotence, he craved that Esma'il and his seed may enjoy affluence. When he had completed his devotions he betook himself to the sanctuary to make himself quite happy, and was again reminded by a heavenly allocution to invite the inhabitants of the world to visit the house, so that the honour of building it, as also that of inviting all mankind to it, should belong to him. Hereon Ebrahim also asked, 'How far will my voice reach?' and the allocution came, 'Do thou invite, and I shall bring the invitation to pass.' Ebrahim returned to his place, which became large and high like a mountain. He first turned his face towards Yemen, and exclaimed in a loud voice: 'Allah—w. n. b. e.—has by his bounty and grace ordered me to build a house for you, and invites you to go on pilgrimage thereto, and to circumambulate it. Obey the command of Allah quickly, that your pilgrimage may be accepted, that your endeavours may be approved, and your transgressions forgiven' Then he turned towards the east, and to all the points of the horizon, repeating the same invitation, which was answered from every direction in the words, 'We await your behests!' and it was repeated on all sides. It is narrated after Ebn A'bbâs, that all who gave this reply, and even those who reposed as yet in the wombs of their mothers and in the loins of their fathers did, and will share in the blessings resulting from a pilgrimage to the Ka'bah; those, on the other hand, who will remain deprived and excluded from them are the persons who thought proper on that occasion to keep the seal of

silence on their mouths, and did not speak. O Lord! cause us to go on pilgrimage to Thy house, and to that of Muhammad, u w b, etc.

When his lordship the Friend of the Merciful had ceased to call the inhabitants of the world to visit that holy country, he made Esma'il his successor in the noble city of Mekkah and returned to Syria. The next year, when the season of the pilgrimage had approached, Ebrahim, Sarah, and Esahâq came to the city of Mekkah, where they performed the visitation, circumambulation, and the ceremonies connected with them On that occasion Esma'il acted as host and servant, and obliged Sarah so that she was highly pleased Afterwards these three persons again returned to Syria with their followers, but Esahâq came every year to Mekkah at the time of the pilgrimage, renewing his covenant of amity with Esma'il, and after he had performed the ceremonies, again returned to wait upon his parents. When one hundred and twenty, but according to another tradition one hundred and thirty, years of Sarah's life had elapsed, the bird of her victorious spirit soared to the rose-garden of the Most Holy One, and the 'Field of Haran,' which had become the property of Ebrahim, was distinguished by becoming the place of her sepulture

Record of some events in Ebrahim's—u w b., etc.—Life and of the Circumstances of his Death

Historians have related that after Sarah's decease, Ebrahim—u. w b, etc—married a Kana'anitish woman, by whom he begat six sons, and they in their turn became the fathers of a numerous progeny scattered over the whole world. None of the sons of the Friend of the Merciful were adorned with the dignity of prophecy except Esma'il and Esahâq It is said—and the responsibility rests with the chroniclers—that in conformity with the will of the Eternal, the cattle and sheep of the refuge of amity had augmented to such a degree, that four thousand dogs were required to protect his sheep from wolves. On the termi-

nation of the one hundred and fiftieth year of his noble life the traces of old age began to manifest themselves, and his noble moustache became gray, which had happened to no man before him. On this account his lordship became very melancholy, and said 'O Lord, increase my dignity' It is related that his lordship prayed to the Creator of life and death not to cut the thread of his existence with the scissors of fate until he himself made the request His petition was heard, and when the time of his decease had approached, and his departure had become necessary, the angel of death entered his noble assembly in the guise of a decrepit old man. Ebrahim placed food before him in the usual way, but, whilst eating, the hand of the angel trembled, and he sometimes threw the morsel which he had taken up behind his ear, sometimes he moved it to his nose, and sometimes to his mouth Ebrahim then asked, 'Old man, what art thou doing?' The angel of death replied, 'All this is on account of old age,' and to Ebrahim's inquiry concerning it he replied, 'I think I am two years older than thyself' Whereon Ebrahim continued 'Verily the difference between thy age and mine may be no more than two years, after the expiration whereof my debility and weakness will be like unto thine' To this remark the angel of death assented, and Ebrahim, who became much depressed, replied 'My God! receive back the deposit of the life wherewith thou hast entrusted me, for it is of no use to me in connection with feebleness and decrepitude,' and the angel of death having been ordered to take hold of his soul, conveyed it to the eternal world.

Some have related that when the Almighty—w n b. e. —had completed all the spiritual and physical blessings which He had conferred upon Ebrahim, and the exuberance of favours and virtues bestowed upon him had reached their termination, the grasper of souls was sent to him and commanded to take his pure spirit with his own consent, or else to return to his place The angel of death made, according to the mandate he had received, his appearance in the assembly of Ebrahim, and explained his errand.

Hereon Ebrahim—u. w. b., etc.—asked for a little respite, engaged in the performance of a few religious and secular duties, attendance to which is considered indispensable by all intelligent persons; and lastly, he appointed Esahâq to be his successor in the country of Syria. When the time of the respite had expired, the destroyer of pleasures girded up his loins of service and executed his office of life-abandoner, or rather life-taker. In some histories it is related that when the angel of death had been ordered to snatch away the soul of Ebrahim, u. w. b., etc., and had visited him for the purpose, his lordship said: 'O A'zrayil, didst thou ever see one friend command that the life of his friend be taken?' Hereupon A'zrayil hastened to the celestial regions and reported the words of Ebrahim at the mansion of Omnipotence, from which he received the mandate to return the following reply to Ebrahim: 'Hast thou ever seen a friend who is loath to meet and to see a friend?' A'zrayil conveyed the message of his lord to Ebrahim, who now in his turn requested him immediately to carry out the orders he had received The angel of death accordingly took hold of his pure spirit, and his amber-body was interred in the 'Field of Haran' by the side of Sarah; and Haran is in the country of Syria.

Record of Miscellaneous Affairs, and Explanation of the Laws and Customs that were instituted on Earth by Ebrahim.

It is related that towards the end of the life of Ebrahim he prayed to the Almighty to show him how He resuscitated the dead. The divine allocution then arrived, asking him whether he believed this or not; to which he replied that he believed it, but that he wished to satisfy his heart. Thereupon he was commanded by the Eternal One to kill four birds of any species he liked, to cut them into pieces, to mix all the parts together, to divide them into four portions, to place each of them separately on the top of a mountain, and then to call them, when they would all

come towards him.[157] Ebrahim did as he was bid, and saw all the pieces ascending into the air, and at his will they became birds by the power of God, flew to the heads which his lordship held in his hand, and united with them. When Ebrahim beheld this miracle the exclamation reached him: 'To-morrow I shall, through the voice of Esrafil, convoke the inhabitants of the world from the four quarters of the universe, and shall resuscitate them, as I have to-day resuscitated these four birds from the mountains;' and 'He is able to do what He likes.' Some of the Sûfis, however, have explained the blessed verse that descended with reference to this miracle according to another tradition, the narrative of which, however, does not enter into the plan of this work.

It is said that one day Ebrahim went out for the purpose of looking out for a guest, because his laudable custom was not to eat without one After searching much he found an old man, and brought him to the house. Finding, however, that he was of a different religion, he sent him away without giving him anything to eat. When the poor man had gone away a reproving allocution was addressed to Ebrahim from the palace of the Restower of grace and favour: 'O Ebrahim, this rebellious servant was, despite his disobedience and sinfulness, never excluded during his life from the banquet of benefits; but this day, when one meal was expected of thee, thou hast driven him away from thy house hungry and disappointed.'

Distich: I nourished him for a hundred years,
And thou art tired of him in one day.

Ebrahim was so touched by this admonition that he went with great haste in pursuit of the old man, whom he found at last, and brought him back to his house with many excuses · whereon the guest asked his host why he had first repelled and then recalled him. When Ebrahim had informed the old man about the whole matter he exclaimed: 'Praised be Allah, who blames His friend for

[157] Qurân, ch. ii. 262.

the sake of his enemy.' Then the idolater repudiated his superstitions, made his profession of the orthodox religion, became one of the really saved, and a true believer, as Shekh Sa'di says:

Distich How couldst thou exclude friends,
Who regardest even e. emies ?

Chroniclers have recorded that the book which was revealed to Ebrahim contained morality and philosophy One of the sayings contained in it is as follows: 'O powerful and arrogant king! I have not sent thee to accumulate riches, but I have sent thee to spare me the complaints of the oppressed; for I shall not reject them, even when they come from infidels.' Therefore many philosophers have maintained it to be incumbent upon judges personally to investigate the affairs of the oppressed, on pain of incurring the highest displeasure [of God] But as it is impossible to inquire personally into all transactions and cases, intelligent men who are endowed with good qualities and free from prohibited desires, who cannot be bribed by promises of dignity, money, or female beauty, nor biased by flattery, should be appointed to investigate and decide all cases with justice and equity Faithful and trustworthy inquirers ought to be secretly despatched to all parts of the country for the purpose of bringing cases to the notice of their superiors, since it is quite possible that wronged and suffering poor persons may be hindered by various obstacles from putting forward their complaints, therefore many advantages are connected with the institution of informers, the details whereof would, however, only prolong this recital

In the same book also th following maxims are laid down, namely A wise man ought to be in his full senses when sitting in judgment, he ought to be acquainted with his own tongue, and know how to restrain it. A wise man, while he retains the full power of his intellect, must reserve four hours for as many special purposes: one hour he must keep for his Omnipotent Nourisher, one hour he is to

devote to meditation on the works of the Inscrutable Creator, one to the secret examination of his own conscience, and the fourth hour he must spend in eating and drinking licit things. He must consider his words as a species of acts, and must speak as little as he possibly can. A prudent man ought to procure three things: (1) provisions for the journey to the next world; (2) provisions for the present world; and (3) licit pleasures

It has been recorded above that the first man who had gray hairs in his moustache was Ebrahim, the reason of which was that the Inscrutable Omnipotent One, having bestowed Esahâq upon him in his old age, the Kana'anites used to say that it was very strange on the part of Ebrahim and Sarah to treat a stranger as their own son, and to bring him up as such Therefore the Inscrutable Creator made Esahâq resemble Ebrahim perfectly, in order to remove the suspicions of the people. After his moustache had grown he could not be distinguished from his father; hence the wisdom of the Almighty considered it expedient to change the hairs of Ebrahim's noble moustache to a white hue, that the people might be enabled to distinguish the father from the son. It is related that an individual addressed the lord of prophecy [i e Muhammad] by the title of 'the best of created beings,' but he replied that this was the epithet of Ebrahim It is related in another tradition that the words, 'We have a better right to doubt than Ebrahim,' have been uttered in consequence of the words of God, w. n b. e. When Ebrahim said, 'Lord, show me how Thou makest alive the dead,' He said, 'Believest thou not?' He said, Yes, but to set my heart at ease.'[158]

[158] Qurân, ch. ii 262

External Description of Ebrahim; the Place of his Birth, the Meaning of his Name; Mention of his Title and Surname; his Trade, and the Length of his Mission.

His august complexion was white and red, he was full grown, his eyes were dark gray, and his breast was broad. Some say his birthplace was in the district of Sûs, which is in the region of Ahvâr, others say it was within the limits of Sakar and, again, others aver that he was born in the country of Haran, but the most correct opinion is that he was born in the kingdom of Babel, in a place named Kûh. It is related that at his lordship's birth twenty-seven years of Azar's life had elapsed It is also said that when his birth approached, his mother went away from that region, and gave birth to her infant in the bed of a large river which had become exsiccated, and having wrapped Ebrahim in swaddling-clothes, she left him there When she returned from that place she informed his father of what had happened, whereon he went to the spot, and having arranged a subterraneous apartment near the river and closed it with a stone for fear of wild beasts, then, leaving an aperture for air, he deposited his son in it and went away The mother of the child constantly visited the cave until the boy grew up Vaqidi states that when Azar became aware of the pregnancy of Ebrahim's mother he conveyed her to a place between Kufah and Bosrah called Varka, where they stayed, and Ebrahim was born, and did not return to his country until he was grown up According to another tradition, his noble birth took place in a cavern The most correct account is that which has been recorded above, but Allah is most wise!

The etymological meaning of the word 'Ebrahim' is contained in the words *Ab rāhum*—'compassionate father', his surname is 'the Friend of the Merciful' and 'the Friend of Allah'; his title is 'the father of guests' and 'the father of prophets', he is also called 'the father of Muhammad'

The Lord Muhammad the elect—u. w. b., etc.—says: Ebrahim was circumcised with a hatchet when he was eighty years old; the following tradition is, however, the reverse of the above opinion, which has been taken from various historians, but possibly they were not acquainted therewith. it is said by some that his lordship was even older at the time of his circumcision Several scholars assert that Qadûm is the name of a place in Syria, others, again, say that Qadûm means a hatchet wherewith his lordship, the asylum of friendship, circumcised himself in his eightieth year, and this ordinance of that exalted prophet will subsist till the end of the world Another of the customs which his lordship introduced is the wearing of trousers, since the revelation was addressed to him by the Almighty, w. n b e 'Thou art the one of My people whom I love most, it is not fit that the ground should see thy hidden parts whilst thou art praying,' accordingly Ebrahim made himself trousers. It is also generally known that the laws of hospitality have been invented by him, and he always ate his dinner and supper in the company of guests. In the blessed locality of his sepulture the convivial ordinances will subsist till the day of the resurrection, and the tongues of all bless and praise him, because in those primeval days he directed persons who wandered thirsty in the desert of exclusion to the fountain-head of knowledge In the prime of his youth and in the strength of his manhood he determined to establish the worship of the Creator in the world, convinced disputants, and overcame conquerers. The Almighty—w n b e—absolves him in the blessed Qurân from the pretensions of the Jews and of the Christians, testifying to his sincerity and to his resignation to the will of Allah[150] At the age of thirty or of twenty-seven years, he invited Nimrud and his followers to the orthodox religion, and was thrown into the fire. He was the first who chose flight for the sake of the religion of the Lord and Benefactor, and is the first individual who

[150] The word of the text, *Islâm*, must here be rendered according to its literal meaning, *i e.*, 'resignation to the will of Allah.'

will in paradise be invested with ornaments. He is the Emâm of mankind according to the word of God, w. n. b. e.: 'I have appointed thee to be an Emâm [*i.e.* leader] of men.'[100] Ebrahim established the custom of fighting with swords, of dividing booty, of cutting the hair of the lip, picking the teeth, gargling the throat, pulling out the hair of the armpits, shaving the hair of the pudenda, cutting nails, purification by water, inviting guests, feeding the poor, finding and obtaining inherited property, etc The chief of created beings [*i.e.* Muhammad]—upon whom be the most excellent blessings—has, notwithstanding his perfect nobleness of mind and high dignity, been commanded to follow him, in the verse 'Follow then the orthodox religion of Ebrahim.'[101] The perfections of his lordship the Friend of the Merciful were numerous, and his customs and habits many, but to this day each of his good acts has become an ordinance practised and believed by those who profess the religion of Muhammad, u w b, etc, and the musk-dropping reed, having been unable to enumerate all his laudable qualities, here closes their abridged recital.

Having always been engaged in agriculture, his occupation may be said to have been farming He also made strenuous efforts to build towns, and to colonize districts, many of which attained a flourishing condition during the lifetime of his lordship and of his pure descendants. The learned say that the duration of his blessed life was one hundred and seventy-five years. Qitby says he lived two hundred years, but Masu'di states, in his 'Akhbâr-uz-zamân,' that his life amounted to one hundred and ninety-five years. Muhammad Bin Fahr-ud-din Banagiti gives him one hundred and twenty-three, and others one hundred and twenty-nine years, but the most current tradition is that of Emâm Masu'di. It is recorded in the 'Rauzat-ullâhbâb' that he expired suddenly It is stated in the 'Jâmi' Aa'zim' that he departed from this painful and contemptible abode to the blessed mansions of paradise on a Friday, the 9th of Muharram, after having kept to his

[100] Qurân, ch ii 118. [101] *Ibid*, ch xvi 124

bed twenty days. May the benediction of Allah be upon him, as well as upon all the prophets and messengers of divine tidings

RECORD OF ESMA'IL, U. W. B, ETC., WITH AN EXPLANATION OF HIS AFFAIRS AND OF HIS MISSION.

As has already been said, his blessed birth took place in Syria, but he was in his infancy exiled to Mekkah, where he grew up and attained maturity He learned equitation and archery in the tribe of Jorham that lived in the vicinity, he had been presented by this tribe with seven sheep, which increased by the favour of the Lord and sender of blessings to such numbers that the calculators of the world were unable to find out their amount Masu'di relates in the 'Akhbâr-uz-zamân' that the first people who were inclined to associate with Esma'il and came to the Zemzem well, were the tribe of A'mâlek, after whom the Jorhamites arrived from the country of Yemen, and established themselves in Mekkah As the story of Esma'il's marriage and of Ebrahim's coming to visit him has been related above, it need not be repeated in this place, but as the recital has also been narrated in a more eloquent manner, and is now before the author, unfolded in a trustworthy chronicle, it has strong claims to a place in this work, accordingly, the double-tongued reed proceeds to jot it down, and says that after the completion of the house of God, and Ebrahim's return, Esma'il became very rich in cattle and sheep, the people agreed with each other and gave him A'mra, the daughter of Aa'd Bin Asama of the tribe of A'mâlek, for a wife Some time after Ebrahim had separated from Esma'il he again wished to see him, and, mounting Boraq sped to the sanctuary, but before leaving Syria his wife Sarah had, on account of the great jealousy to which she was subject, requested her husband not to alight in Esma'il's house. He agreed, and after taking leave of her and performing the journey, he reached the noble city of Mekkah, arrived at the door of Esma'il's

habitation ; but not finding his son at home, he saw a female coming out of the house, who proved, on inquiry, to be Esma'il's spouse, and to the question how they fared, A'mra replied · 'As God willeth,' without adding an epithet of gratitude to the name of the universal Benefactor. After that Ebrahim asked where Esma'il was, but she replied : 'What asketh thou about a man who is not in the house ?' and to the question when her husband would return, A'mra rejoined that she knew not. To all his inquiries she returned proud answers, and never asked Ebrahim to alight, nor did she make use of any civilities. Therefore Ebrahim said to her : When thy husband returns, give him my salutation, and say. Thy father advises thee to change thy threshold.' A'mra complied. And when Esma'il arrived at home, some time after his father's departure, he smelt the odour of his presence, and saw the marks of the hoofs of Borâq , he asked his spouse whether anyone had been there in his absence, and she informed him that an aged man, looking so-and-so, had come to the house, and she told him the message he had entrusted her with. Esma'il then said that this was his own father, and added 'As he was not pleased with thee, he advised me to divorce thee' Accordingly, Esma'il separated himself from her, and married Saida, the daughter of Masâs Bin O'mar the Jorhamite When Ebrahim came the next time to Mekkah, he hastened to pay a visit to his son, but the latter happened to be engaged in the chase as on the former occasion, and on meeting his wife, Ebrahim accosted her with the question : 'Who art thou ?' She replied 'I am the daughter of Masâs Bin O'mar, and the wife of Esma'il' Ebrahim further asked, 'How do you do ' She continued . 'Praise be to Allah, we spend our life in comfort and happiness.' Ebrahim asked, 'What kind of a man is thy husband ?' She continued 'The best of consorts.' After this Saida requested Ebrahim to alight to enable her to perform the duties of hospitality, but on his reply that he had no power to do so, she said that, as his hair was entangled, he

should kindly allow her to wash it and to anoint it. Ebrahim agreed, whereon Saida placed a stone under his right foot, but kept the other in his stirrup till she had washed one half of his hair, then Saida moved the stone to the other side to enable him to place his left foot on it until she had washed the other side of his blessed head; the mark, however, of his blessed foot remained impressed on the stone. Some commentators assert that the said spot is the Place of Ebrahim.[162] When Saida had finished washing Ebrahim's head, she put some cheese on a dish and held it with both her hands until he had, mounted as he was, consumed the cheese Then he told Saida to inform her husband on his return that Ebrahim had said: 'The threshold of thy house is good, and fail not to keep it' When the Friend of the Merciful was about to return, he asked Saida whether they had any bread in the house, but she replied that she knew not what bread was, and to the question whether she had any fruit or dates she gave the same reply. Then Ebrahim began to weep, and said: 'O Lord, I have caused my seed to dwell in an uncultivated country, near Thy holy house,' as far as the words 'and give them fruits.'[163] It is said that there was no necessity to mark the place, because the words 'near Thy holy house' point it out sufficiently Ebrahim had uttered the above words by way of helplessness, after he had finished building the Ka'bah, as appears from the context of the recital.

In short, after Ebrahim had returned to Syria, Esma'il arrived at night in his house, and smelt the odour of his beloved father as well as of Borâq. He asked his wife whether anyone had come to the house during the day, and she said: 'Yes, an old man has honoured it with his presence, the like of which in nobility I have never seen before, he possessed the dignity of kings, the aspect of the pious and the light of the prophets. Look at the marks of

[162] The Place of Ebrahim is near the Ka'bah, and is also visited by pilgrims.
[163] Qurân, ch. xiv. 40.

his feet which have remained on this stone.' Hereon *Esma'il assembled* his children, and said, 'This is the place of your father;' all his followers likewise wept, and kissed that stone with the greatest reverence.

Historians have recorded that by the blessing of Ebrahim's prayer the Almighty—w n b. e.—commanded Jebrâil and Mikâil to take up the localities of Tayif and of Ramlah, and to set them down near Mekkah, to enable the children of Esma'il to live in comfort and abundance, because in those two places victuals and fruits are very plentiful. Allah—w n b. e—has said. 'Remember Esma'il in the book, for he was a righteous man, who kept his promise; a messenger [*i e* apostle] and a prophet'[164] Kalbi, who is one of the most trustworthy expounders, has said that Esma'il was so true to his promises, that on a certain occasion when he had said that he would stop in a certain place to wait for the arrival of a man, the latter had forgotten it and never went there until a whole year elapsed, when he found Esma'il still present in the locality. Some say that Esma'il had waited for him three days, when he at last made his appearance, the best words, however, are nearest to the truth, and Allah is most wise!

It is related that after the decease of his father Esma'il went to Syria, for the purpose of visiting the tomb of his parent, he also took possession of his inheritance, and was likewise honoured with the dignity of a prophet. The Almighty—w. n b e—sent him to convert a community of Pharaonites who had emigrated from Egypt and were settled in the country of Yemen Esma'il went among them, and was inviting that sinful and rebellious tribe during a long series of years to accept the orthodox religion of Ebrahim, but those obstinate wretches refused to partake of the greatest felicity, and having remained wandering in the desert of deception and perdition, they never reached the fountain-head of guidance and favour.

It is said that Esma'il had twelve sons, the oldest of whom was called Thâbut; and of all his children only the last mentioned and Qidâr continued to dwell around the

[164] Qurân, ch xix. 55.

sanctuary; the remainder dispersed all over Arabia, where they settled and begat a numerous progeny, who conquered their antagonists wherever they met them. It is related that when old age and debility had overtaken Esma'il, he appointed Qidâr to be his successor, and was a short time afterwards taken up from this dreary abode of our world, into the gardens of the paradise of promise.

His Personal Description, Trade, Surname, Titles, Miracles, and Length of Mission.

He greatly resembled his father Ebrahim, u. w. b., etc., was faithful, always keeping his promises, and very patient. He was an arrow-maker and good archer. It is related that one day the prophet of God—u. w. b, etc—fell in with a company of the Beni Aslam who were at that time engaged in shooting arrows, on that occasion his lordship said: 'Shoot, ye sons of Esma'il; for your father Esma'il was a good archer.' He was also very fond of hunting He is surnamed 'the father of the Arabs,' and his title is *Aghrâq utthara*, concerning the explanation whereof the author of these pages is dumb, for want of a knowledge of its meaning.

He worked numerous miracles, one of which was that a sheep, having had dry nipples for many years, was brought to his lordship, who rubbed his hand with a benediction upon them, whereon the milk began to flow abundantly. Another miracle was that on a certain occasion a guest came to his house, but there was no food, and he put a little of Zemzem water into a vessel, covered its top, and prayed over it, whereon several kinds of food issued from the said vessel, whereby the faith in his prophetship was increased

His life lasted according to some traditions one hundred and thirty years, but according to the most current one he lived one hundred and thirty-seven years, during ninety of which he was contemporaneous with his father. The duration of his mission amounted to about forty-seven, and according to others to fifty, years. His mission began, according to the most correct tradition, before the decease

of Ebrahim; this, however, is contrary to the words of Tabari; but Allah is most wise! His blessed sepulchre is in the Hijar,[166] near the tomb of Hâjar; but some say that it is between the Rakan [buttress] and the Mukâm [Place of Abraham].

Record of the Origin of Idolatry among the Children of Esma'il, u. w. b., etc

There are books full of accounts about the increase of the descendants of Esma'il, in course of time to such an extent that the city of Mekkah could no longer contain them. Consequently some of them left the sanctuary for the purpose of settling in various parts of Arabia, and every individual who intended to depart took one stone from the sanctuary, deposited it in a clean place wherever he settled, and circumambulated it as he would have done in a pilgrimage in the house of Allah. This custom was practised to such a degree that at last the people took up any stone which appeared to be handsome, placed it in a proper spot, visited and circumambulated it. At last the book of Ebrahim fell into oblivion among them, and they, having been misled and seduced by Satan, began to worship statues, imagining idolatry to be a very laudable religion. Despite of this abominable custom, they acted in some instances according to the law of Ebrahim, performed the ceremonies of the pilgrimage in the usual way, and considered it necessary and incumbent upon themselves to magnify the sanctuary of the Lord, and to honour the house of the Ka'bah.

Some people are of opinion that idolatry originated in the following manner. There was a man called Asâf, and a woman whose name was Nâila, both belonging to the tribe of Jorham. On a certain occasion both were overpowered by lust, and committed adultery with each other in the very house of the Ka'bah, but the mighty Lord and powerful Avenger instantly changed them into a stone

[166] Described in footnote 148.

whilst in the very act. Then the inhabitants of Mekkah bore the two bodies of stone out of the Ka'bah, and, as a warning to the people, they erected the body of Asâf on the top of mount Safâ, and that of Nâila at Marva. In course of time the descendants of the Lord Esma'il abandoned the religion of Ebrahim, and began to worship the two statues. The first man who altered the orthodox faith of the Friend of the Merciful, and invited the people to worship Asâf and Nâila, was A'mru Bin Lahi Khozaa'i; it is recorded in some books that he brought a statue of Hobal from Syria, erected it on a mountain near Mekkah, and advised the inhabitants to adore it. The record of Hobal, which was the chief idol of the Qoraish, will—if it pleaseth Allah—be inserted in the second section of this work. After A'mru had introduced his abominations, idolatry became current among the Arabs, so that the tribe Zu-A'meen worshipped Manah,[166] whose statue they placed in a house near the sea-shore. This idol was also worshipped by the tribe Ansâr during the time of ignorance [*i.e.* before Muhammad]. For U'zza, which was one of the principal idols, they built a house at Nakhlah; the Beni Khozaa' and the Qoraish went on pilgrimages to it in the same way as to the Ka'bah, to obtain worldly and eternal grandeur. The Thaqeef, who were of the noblest among the Arabs, also girded their loins of obedience to Lât,[167] which idol they considered to be the means for attaining their desires, and idolatry flourished among the Arabs until the propitious standard of Muhammad was raised.

Record of the Mission of Esahâq, the son of Ebrahim: Peace be upon both of them.

It has been related that when Ebrahim—u. w. b., etc.—settled in Filisteen, he sent Esahâq to the land of Kana'an. Esahâq obtained his mission during his father's lifetime, engaged in directing and guiding the people, married Rufqah [Rebecca], the daughter of his uncle, who gave birth

[166] Mentioned with others in the Qurân, ch. liii. 19, 20.
[167] All the idols are described in Sale's Prelim. Disc., section i.

to twins, namely: A'is [Esau] and Ya'qûb, the latter being called by this name because, when A'is was born, Ya'qûb was found to have laid hold of A'is's heel [a'qub].[168] Both these sons were growing up in the bosom of the instruction of their parents, but the favourite of Esahâq was A'is, and that of Rufqah was Ya'qûb. Esahâq became in his old age afflicted with weak eyes, and was unable to distinguish external objects. One day he told his son A'is, who was very fond of hunting, that he desired to have some game, and that A'is ought to kill, roast, and bring him some, whereon he would beseech the Almighty to confer upon him some blessings and felicity. A'is then took his bow and arrows, and hastened to the desert and mountain. Rufqah, being aware of what was taking place, called Ya'qûb, because she loved him greatly, and said 'Esahâq has spoken to thy brother thus and thus, therefore thou must immediately take a kid which we have been feeding for some time, kill it, roast it, and place it before Ebrahim' A'is being very hirsute, Rufqah instructed her favourite son to put the goatskin on his arm so that when conversing with his father he might, by imitating the voice of A'is, be mistaken for him He obeyed his beloved mother, and waited on his father with the roasted kid. After placing his hand on Ya'qûb's arm and hearing him speak, Esahâq said. 'It is strange that, touching the arm of A'is, I hear the voice of Ya'qûb' Thereon Esahâq ate the roast kid, was much pleased therewith, and exclaimed 'May Allah bless thy children, and grant them prophecy and the book!' Historians inform us that seventy thousand individuals of the seed of Ya'qûb were honoured by the noble dignity of prophecy When A'is had returned from the chase, and had prepared food from his game, he brought it to his father, saying 'I have brought thee what thou hast asked for' Thereon Esahâq became aware that a trick had been played upon him, and said to A'is 'The consequence of my prayer will benefit Ya'qûb and his descendants; now, however, I beseech the Lord and Granter of requests

[168] Genesis, ch. xxv. 26

greatly to increase thy seed, and to produce therefrom mighty potentates and great sovereigns, and one of thy offspring will beget a very patient prophet.' This last promise has been recorded by the traditions of those who consider Ayûb [Job] to have been a descendant of A'is.

After the just-mentioned event the flames of envy and rancour blazed up in the breast of A'is. Therefore he invited one day Ya'qûb to his house for dinner. The latter consented, and after the repast had been finished A'is presented Ya'qûb with horses, camels, sheep, etc.; but when they took leave of each other and embraced, he bit his throat, intending to kill him. The omnipotent Lord of Glory, however, softened the teeth of A'is, so that they became like wax, and when the latter perceived the futility of his efforts he exclaimed: 'I ask pardon from God, and repent of [the sins] which I committed against Him.' He also said: 'O brother, now I know that the blessing, in which thou hast forestalled me, was given by the permission of God, w. n. b. e. Return now, under the guardianship and peace of God, for the advantages of the blessing are thine.' Ya'qûb accordingly returned safe and sound to his habitation. But that which has been recorded in the histories of Tabari and of Hâfez Abru and others concerning Ya'qûb's visit to his maternal uncle, and his meeting his brother A'is after the return of the latter and departure to the country of Rûm,[109], shall be narrated according to the above-named authorities in the story of Ya'qûb. After Esahâq had been a prophet for many years, he was attacked by a malady that lasted but a few days, whereon he responded to the call of the Almighty, and being received into the propinquity of the mercy of the Lord of Glory, he exchanged this abode of darkness for the mansion of life.

His Personal Description, Miracles, and Tomb.

He was of a full stature, had black eyes, and the hue of his blessed countenance inclined to a green colour. He was prayerful, pious, kind, and merciful. He performed numerous

[109] The name Rûm was formerly applied to the Byzantine Empire, and afterwards to Turkey.

miracles, one of which was that he placed his blessed hand upon the back of a sheep and pronounced a benediction, whereon, by the power of the Omnipotent—w. n. b. e.—seventy sheep were born from that one ewe. The duration of his life amounted to one hundred and eighty years according to one tradition, and to one hundred and sixty according to another. It is also said that he lived one hundred and twenty years. The first statement, however, is the most correct. When he departed this life A'is performed the funeral rites, and buried his blessed body in the place at present known by the name of 'Qasat Halil,' near the sepulchre of both his parents.

STORY OF YA'QÛB [JACOB], THE ESRÂIL OF GOD, W. N. B. E.

Ya'qûb—salutation to our prophet and to him—was one of the great inspired prophets, and most of the latter who had been sent after him were his descendants. Chronicles inform us that Esahâq had prohibited Ya'qûb to marry a wife from among the Kana'anites, but ordered him to take the daughter of his maternal uncle who dwelt at Qadâm, in Syria. Since, by the stratagem of Rufqah, the blessing destined for A'is had been diverted to him, the latter became his enemy. Therefore Ya'qûb departed on a certain night after Esahâq's decease, and some say during the very night of it, for fear of A'is from Kana'an, by the advice of his mother, towards Qadâm, and his lordship was, after his flight from his native country, surnamed Esrâil, because he had been caused to proceed [*asra*] in the night [*rail*]. It is narrated that during the journey fatigue overwhelmed him, so that he rested himself on a stone and fell asleep on it. There he beheld in his sleep a ladder connecting heaven with the earth, and a company of angels ascending and descending by the said ladder.[170] On that occasion the allocution from the courts of magnificence and glory, of the exalted Sovereign, reached him in these words: 'I am the Lord worthy to be adored, the God of thee and of thy

[170] Genesis, ch. xxviii. 12.

fathers, beside whom there is no other God! I have appointed thee, and thy seed after thee, to be the heirs and governors of this holy land. I shall grant to those of you who will be virtuous, the honour and blessing of guidance: I shall bestow upon them a book and the law of prophecy. I shall guard you and protect you if you will revert to this place, and build therein an edifice, namely, the Holy House, where you and all your posterity may enjoy the favour of worshipping Me.' When Ya'qûb awoke, he was very glad, and became certain of the blessings called down upon him by Esahâq. He then arose, and continued his journey, after the termination whereof he was received into the courts of the consanguinity of his maternal uncle.

It was, according to tradition, a year of scarcity when Ya'qûb paid a visit to his uncle Labân The latter had a well, from which his sheep were accustomed to drink, the water of it, however, happened to decrease greatly, and on Labân's informing Ya'qûb of this circumstance, his nephew drew a bucket-full out of it, of which he drank some, and poured the remainder again back into the well. By the power of the Lord the water then became more and more copious. When the uncle perceived this, he became fond of the society of Ya'qûb, requested him to remain with him, and his nephew agreed. After a few days had elapsed, he began to pay his addresses to Rahil [Rachel], the younger daughter of Labân, but when her father asked him about his property and the means by which the gates of necessity are dammed up, Ya'qûb replied that he possessed none of these things, but that he would engage to serve as a hired menial during a certain time in order to acquire the marriage portion which a husband settles upon his wife. To this Labân assented, and the time of servitude to procure the needful dowry for Rahil was agreed upon to last seven years.[171] Ya'qûb placed the finger of submission on his lucid vision, and Labân recommended him to keep the covenant agreed upon by both, but not to divulge it, lest both might be put to shame. After Ya'qûb had been taking

[171] Genesis, ch xxix. 20.

care of the sheep during seven years, and the appointed time had expired, his uncle married him to his eldest daughter Lia [Leah] When the wedding-night had elapsed, and the darkness of the night was exchanged for the luminous brocade of day, Ya'qûb began to reproach his uncle for having caused him to serve during seven years to marry one of his daughters, and for deceitfully giving him, after their completion, another daughter to be his wife Labân, however, replied 'It is not proper to give away a younger daughter before the elder one is married, but if thou art enamoured with Rahil, serve seven years more, to enable thee to pluck fruits also from that other grove, and to quaff the wine of desire also from that other cup

At that time it was not unlawful to marry two sisters, and it became so only during the time of Músa [Moses] Ya'qûb accordingly became a shepherd for seven years more, after the expiration whereof he obtained Rahil likewise On that occasion Labân sent also two maid-servants to Ya'qûb's house, one of whom was called Filha [Bilhah] and the other Zilfa [Zilpah], the first to be a maid to Lia and the second to Rahil

It is recorded in the 'Jâmi Aa'zim' that Ya'qûb begat the following six sons with Lia, namely Rubil [Reuben], Shima'ûn [Simeon] Yahuda [Judah], Lavi [Levi], Zabâlûn [Zebulun] who is also called Azûlûn, and Yashkhar [Issachar] also named Shâkhâr and Yashkhûr By Rahil he had Yusuf [Joseph] and Ebn Yamin [Benjamin] Filha gave birth to Vân [Dan] and to Tha'baly [Naphtali] Zilfa also had two sons namely Gâd and Ashir Their total number amounted to twelve, and the word 'tribes' [*asbât*] in the glorious words of the Qurân alludes to them. According to the 'Ma'arif Hasib' four tribes originated from Lia, namely Rubil, Yahuda, Shima'ûn and Lavi. Rahil [as already mentioned] gave birth to Yusuf and Ebn Yamin, and each of the two bondmaids became the ancestress of three tribes

When Ya'qûb desired to return from Qadân to Kana'an, Labân said to him 'If thou wilt remain here one year, it

will be of advantage to thee;' but he asked what it would be, whereon Labân continued: 'I shall divide my sheep into two parts, one of which I mean to assign to thee, so that every male lamb born from it shall be thy property.' Ya'qûb assented to his uncle's request, whereon Jebrâil descended to him and said 'O Ya'qûb, take the leaves of such and such a tree, and disperse them in yonder valley, so that the portion of sheep under thy care may consume them, and every one of them may bring forth a male lamb' He acted according to this injunction, and, to the great amazement of Labân, the prediction was fulfilled, he, however, requested Ya'qûb to remain one year longer, promising to give him every male lamb born from the other portion of the sheep The nephew again complied with his uncle's wish, Jebrâil instructed him as before, and the same consequences again resulted After Ya'qûb had sojourned at his uncle's request two years longer with him, he departed with his wives, children and sheep, as well as with all his other goods and chattels, to the land of Kana'an. When on the point of starting, Lia, one of the wives of Ya'qûb, ordered one of her sons to steal the idol which Labân worshipped, and to conceal it among the luggage Labân, however, missed his god soon after his children had left him, but as he could not immediately find it, he mounted a fleet horse, went in pursuit of them, and, after he had overtaken them, said 'O Ya'qûb, is this the reward for my kindness, thus to sever our connection?' Ya'qûb being much astonished at this question, Labân continued: 'You have stolen my god and taken him with you'[172] Ya'qub replied 'What is the use of a god whom a thief can steal? My God and thine is the creator of heaven and earth. Fear Him, and confess His unity, and I shall restore to thee any of thy property which I may have taken' Labân said 'I want you to restore to me my god.' Ya'qûb replied 'I have not taken thy idol, nor do I know which of my companions has committed that act.' Labân continued to expostulate: 'I adjure thee by the

[172] Genesis, ch. xxxi 30

alliance of consanguinity that exists between thee and me, to pray that the robber and the robbed may appear!" Thereon the camel which carried the idol began to leap, and the idol fell to the ground together with the son of Ya'qûb. Then Ya'qûb said. 'O uncle, believe now in God, for thy wish has been responded to very quickly.' Labân rejoined 'I cannot abandon my religion, nor do I know any one better than him whom I adore.' He thereon took possession of his idol, and returned the same way he had come Ya'qûb made haste in his journey to Kana'an, and the more he approached it, the more he longed for it.

Distich When the promised meeting drew near
The fire of desire burnt more brightly

It happened that when Ya'qûb had reached the last stage of his journey to Kana'an, A'is, whom the grief of separation from his brother had overpowered, was, in order to dispel it, trying to divert himself with the chase, and had arrived suddenly in the place where the Lord Ya'qûb was encamped When A'is beheld the crowds of cattle and sheep, with a multitude of men and women, he went to see them. Ya'qûb, however, who had recognised him from a distance, concealed himself for fear of him.[173] He collected his followers, and harangued him thus 'If that man comes and asks you whose property this is, and why all these people are assembled here, you must say "A'is, the son of Esahâq had a brother of the name of Ya'qûb, who went away, before this, into a region of Syria, and lived there for years Now he has returned, and this property belongs to him, but in conformity with the maxim that the slave, with everything he possesses, belongs to his master, all these things belong to A'is, to whom we shall deliver them."' When A'is had come near, he conversed with the leader of the caravan; the children of Ya'qûb answered according to the instructions they had received, and when A'is had heard what they said, he was greatly touched, lamented, burst into tears, and exclaimed 'Ya'qûb is not my slave

[173] Genesis, ch. xxxii. 7

but my brother, and dear to me as my own life.' When Ya'qûb heard these words he ran towards his brother; and A'is, who recognised him, fainted, and fell to the ground, but recovered himself after awhile The two brothers rejoiced to see each other, and spent that night together in pleasure and amusement. In the morning, Yaqûb, with his followers and in company with A'is, went to Kana'an, where they rejoiced to see and to meet their friends. It is said that one year after this event, the Most High—w. n. b e.—bestowed Ebn Yamin upon Ya'qûb, whose spouse, Rahil, whilst giving birth to him, was however taken to the mansion of eternity, and Lia, the aunt of the infant, undertook the care of it

After Ya'qûb had been commanded to guide and to direct the inhabitants of Kana'an, A'is said. 'Brother, thou hast for a long time been tried in the affliction of exile. Now it is my turn, I recommend thee to the keeping and protection of God I depart, do thou care for this region, and neglect not to preserve the sepulchres of thy father, grandfather, and other relatives' Then he took leave of Ya'qûb, and travelled to the country of Rûm.

It is said that A'is begat five sons with the daughter of his uncle Esma'il, u. w b, etc., one of whom was called Rûm, and all the Rûmis are his descendants His complexion being very yellow, his descendants are called the sons of the yellow one[174] All sovereigns are of the seed of A'is, the son of Esahâq. He lived one hundred and forty-five years, and on the same day when Ya'qûb wandered in Egypt from this frail abode to the mansion of eternity, he, likewise, was in Rûm translated from this house of misery and vexation to the imperishable kingdom

Hemistich Enduring and permanent is God alone!

The corpse of A'is was taken to the field of Haran, where it was interred near the sepulchres of his ancestors, but the remainder of the story of Ya'qûb will be narrated—if it pleaseth Allah—in the story of Yusuf.

[174] *Beni alasfar*

Record of the Story of Yusuf [Joseph] the Veracious. Salutation to our Prophet and to him.

God—w. n b. e.—has said: 'Verily in Yusuf and his brethren there are signs to those who ask.'[175] The story of Yusuf is a wonderful narrative and a strange tradition. Its beginning is affection and love, its middle desire and longing, its end chastity, mercy and pardon, every one of its words is based on moral axioms, and every chapter contains an application of them. As the learned and the excellent of ancient and of modern times, according to the various sources from which they drew their information, and, according to their respective abilities, have derived high enjoyment from this recital, and have gathered fruits from this tree, due notice of them has been taken, and reference to their writings has been made in the elaboration of the present narrative, and this poor, unskilled, and inexperienced individual [*i. e.* the author] having followed the attendants of the excellent and the company of the eloquent, considers himself, according to the proverb, that 'he who resembles people, is one of them' to belong to their number, he has appealed to their pure spirits to aid his aspirations, and having selected their ways and followed their laws, he proceeds according to the suggestions of his mind, and, by the assistance of his natural abilities, to begin the recital of this exquisite story and sublime narrative hoping and expecting it to meet with the approbation and praise which, as must be confessed without dissimulation, are the Qiblah of authors, to which the aspirations of the eloquent are directed, although this is not meritorious in the sight of Allah

Record of Yusuf's Dream and Beginning of his Affairs

His lordship, Yusuf the veracious, was assuredly and most certainly one of the great seers, and the greatest of

[175] Quran, ch. xii. 7

perfect prophets. The genealogy of his father is derived from the nursery of the friend [*i.e.* Ebrahim], and his precious gem originated from the mine of Esrâil [meaning that Joseph was the son of Jacob].

It is related that the Most High—w. n. b. e.—divided beauty into ten parts, one of which fell to the lot of all the inhabitants of the world, and the nine others constituted the light of the pulchritude, and the robe of perfection of Yusuf. Astronomers say—and upon them the responsibility rests—that the propitious horoscope of his lordship was Cancer, the sun was in the ascendant, Mercury in the second, Saturn and the moon in the ninth, Mars in the eleventh, Jupiter and Venus in the twelfth [degree or mansion ?]; wherefore he became incomparably beautiful and pleasing The learned differ about his blessed name, many of them asserting that it is foreign [*i e.* not Arabic], a few others again say that it is Arabic, and derived from 'asuf,' which means grief stricken, and also a slave. Maybe Yusuf was called by this name because he bore the yoke of servitude and tasted the venom of grief, the author of this work, however, says, that although the name Yusuf may also be derived from 'asif,' it is not necessarily an Arabic word, as some assert, since Arabic scholars consider Nûh to be a foreign word, although derived from 'nûha,' which is Arabic, but Allah—w. n. b. e.—knows best.

The details of Yusuf's affairs begin as follows He was one night sleeping by the side of Ya'qûb's couch, and the flower of his beauty was reposing in the rose-grove of his father's proximity, when he suddenly awoke, trembled like a rose-leaf which the zephyr shakes, and quaked like a drop of quicksilver parched by the sun. Ya'qûb perceived this, and said: 'My son, what is the matter? and what has happened to thee? Yusuf replied · 'I have just dreamt a dream, the calamitous forebodings of which have frightened me. I beheld myself on the top of a high mountain, around which there were many rivulets, abundant verdure, numerous trees, countless flowers, such as various kinds of anemones, jessamines, and fragrant plants; and I beheld in

my dream the sun, moon, and eleven stars suddenly descending from the heavens and worshipping me.'[176] Yaqûb knew that the lofty mountain was the similitude of the seat of Yusuf's heaven-embracing prosperity which he would one day attain; the limpid brooks were the waters of his good fortune meandering into the river of his dignity; the pleasant gardens were the meadows of his felicity, from which the roses of his desires would blossom every moment, when the throne of sempiternal happiness would be adorned by the presence of his beloved son, when the eleven tribes of Esrâil, prefigured by the eleven stars who are the luminaries of the heaven of glory, and of the spheres of prophecy, would lay down the foreheads of their submission before him upon the ground, and the sun and moon as representatives of two exalted individuals, who are a noble couple, will agree with the eleven tribes [in their submission]. Ya'qûb was, nevertheless, apprehensive of the accidents of time and of the adversities that might befall Yusuf during the lapse of months and years. He prohibited him from revealing the dream to his brothers, because he knew that if they became aware of what was in store for him in the womb of futurity, they would, at the instigation of Satan, machinate evil against him. The Most Glorious has said 'My son, divulge not thy vision to thy brethren, lest they plot a plot against thee, for Satan is an evident enemy to man.'[177] After he had given this advice to his son, he consoled him, saying: 'My son, the boundless Giver will soon [illegible] thee with the ennobling robe of His choice, will make thee a confidant of His mysteries, will plentifully shower His favours upon thee and thy family, and will promote thee to the high station of thy fathers and ancestors.' The brethren of Yusuf, nevertheless, became sometime afterwards aware of his dream; their envy augmented and the flames of their malevolence were kindled against him. They all congregated near Rubil, who was the most distinguished among them on account of the correctness of his judgment, and informed him that the

[176] Genesis, ch. xxxvii. 9. [177] Qurân, ch. xii. 5.

son of Rahil had dreamt a strange dream, in consequence whereof he had averted their father's affection from themselves. Rubil was astonished at their recital, and said: 'I consider not his face as the face of a liar. As the indications of prosperity have appeared upon the forehead of his circumstances, what wonder is there that the plant of his felicity is beginning to grow by the river-side of his hopes, and that the crescent of his beauty is becoming a full moon in the firmament of [impending] magnificence?' On account of this reply of Rubil, and of Yusuf's dream, most of his brethren were so astonished and disconcerted that they remained sleepless both night and day. After the expiration of one year he again dreamt a dream, in which he perceived water dripping from the tips of his august fingers, ascending into the skies and coming down upon the heads of his brethren in the form of rain. When he told this to his father, Ya'qûb knew that this was a metaphor of a time of dearth, during which the five-branched sea of the hands of Yusuf's beneficence would water the thirsty meadows of the hopes of his brothers with the floods of his benefits and obligations; but keeping the interpretation of this dream in abeyance, he enjoined his son to keep it likewise secret. When, nevertheless, the brothers of Yusuf had become aware also of this second dream, and perceived the increase of affection between the father and the son, their feelings of envy prevailed, and they harboured evil designs against him.

It is recorded in several histories that when Rahil departed this life, whilst giving birth to Ebn Yamin, Yusuf was two years old. Ya'qûb had a sister, to whom the care and rearing of Yusuf was transferred, and as he was the handsomest, not only of the sons of Ya'qûb, but of all the inhabitants of the world, his father loved him so much, that he could not bear to be separated from him one moment; therefore, the sister was requested to surrender the child. But, as she loved Yusuf more than her brother Ya'qûb, she tried to retain him for some time, by making use of various subterfuges; when, however, at last, these

became of no avail, and the importunities of Ya'qûb had passed all bounds, she invented a stratagem, by which she attained her object: Esahâq had inherited a belt from Ebrahim, which had lapsed in course of time to Ya'qûb's sister. With the said belt that intelligent woman girded Yusuf under his clothes when she surrendered him to his father, in consequence whereof, her nephew became very uneasy. She also informed Ya'qûb of the loss of the belt, which could nowhere be found, until it was at last discovered on the naked body of Yusuf the veracious. Therefore she did not allow Ya'qûb to take the august child away, since, according to the orthodox religion of Ebrahim, it was optional with the owner of the property to retain the thief in his service during the space of one year, and according to another tradition, the thief could not be liberated from the fetters of servitude as long as the owner of the stolen property was alive. When the aunt of Yusuf surrendered the deposit of life to the grasper of souls, Ya'qûb cherished him so that he was envied by his brothers, since he had given him the cane which Ebrahim had received from paradise along with the belt and robe which the Bestower of all good gifts had, from the treasury of excellence, presented to Esahâq. Another reason of their ill-will was that, on a certain occasion, when Yusuf awoke from his sleep, he told his sister that he had had a strange dream, and on her inquiry, he replied: 'I dreamt that I was gathering wood with my brothers, and each of us put his faggots in a separate heap. I perceived that the heaps of my brothers were black, but mine was white, at the same time also I saw that their heaps worshipped mine. A man also arrived there, whose head, so to say, touched the sky, and his feet the earth; he held a balance in his hand, saluted and complimented me, weighed the portions of all my brothers in one, and my wood in the other scale, but found the latter to preponderate, whereupon my brothers adored me.' When Ya'qûb had heard this dream, he knew the interpretation thereof, and became exceedingly sad on account of the cunning and treachery of Yusuf's brothers.

Another reason for their envy was, that one year after this vision, Yusuf again had a dream, in which a voice said to him: 'Arise, and fix thy staff in the ground;' and after having done so, he beheld his brothers likewise sticking their staffs into the earth around his staff, whereon Yusuf beheld his staff growing skyward and budding forth branches, which were so bright that they illuminated the interval between the East and the West, then fruits rained from these branches of the tree upon the heads of Yusuf's brothers, which they were eating whilst they worshipped him. When Yusuf awoke, he saw his father and brothers sitting around him; he then revealed his dream, which greatly pained his father, because he knew that his brothers were conscious of its meaning, and feared that from excess of envy they might injure him. Some time after this he again dreamt, during the night of a Friday, and this dream —which ripened the evil intentions of his brothers unto maturity—is contained in the following verse of the glorious Qurân: 'I saw eleven stars, and the sun and the moon. I saw them make obeisance unto me'[178] The meaning of it has been already recorded above In short, when the brothers heard of all these visions, and beheld the augmentation of intimacy between Yusuf and his honourable father, they fell a prey to envy and hatred, strained their whole minds how to injure him, and after they had determined to throw him into the well of misery, they fancied that this act would become the cause of the increase of their own importance and dignity. They accordingly requested Ya'qûb to allow them to take Yusuf along with themselves for the purpose of seeing the desert, Ya'qûb, however, refused their demand, and placed the hand of denial upon the breast of the request of his sons It is said that the cause of Ya'qûb's not complying was, that he had one night dreamt that the earth was weeping, therefore he drew Yusuf to his own side, saying 'O, noblest of the oppressed! Come to my side, because thine own family has injured

[178] Qurân, ch xii. 4, and Genesis, ch xxxvii. 9.

thee;' whereupon the earth swallowed him, and Yusuf disappeared.

After the design of the sons of Ya'qub had been impeded and frustrated, they left their father sad and depressed, but going aside, they attempted to concoct a new plan. On this occasion the deceitful Eblis made his appearance among them in the guise of an old man, asked them for the cause of their sorrow, and endeavoured to show himself a faithful adviser. The brothers said to him: 'Old man, it is a long time since we were at a loss what to do, and we spend our lives in misery and sadness. Our intention is to remove our youngest brother from the sight of his father, so that in his absence we may, for a season, follow our own pleasure. The wish cherished by us of taking Yusuf to the desert, and of inventing a stratagem concerning him, has been nullified by our father's refusal.' Satan replied: 'Bide your time, and reiterate your demand at the proper moment, when the spring arrives, with the season of roses and of pleasure, then make your brother first anxious to roam and to wander about. Play and gambol in his presence, so that he may himself request his father, and your intention will certainly be gratified.' The brothers of Yusuf approved of this plan, and after duly thanking the old man, the assembly dispersed. They took hold of the skirts of patience, and waited until the sovereign of luminaries [*i.e.* the sun] walked into the house of his culmination. Then they paid a visit to Yusuf, and began the conversation with words like the following:

Verses Come to the garden, for it is pleasant like the face of a belle.
Spring has pitched its tent outside, for it is time to encamp.
Now as in the meadow the tulip rises from the ground,
It is incumbent upon him who is of this world
To live merrily in this brief life during the season of flowers,
For this is thy purpose, and life is short.
Laugh at the times, as the cloud wept,
For roses smile because the dawn weeps.

'Now, Yusuf, comply with the wishes of thy brothers, and play in the fields instead of pining in the prison-house of thy father. This is a time for pleasure and sight-seeing

in the world. Peace of mind and consolation of the heart are attained by looking at flowers, and contemplating the vernal season.' They cajoled him so long with enticing invitations, that Yusuf's inclinations were biased to visit the desert and to behold its plants and flowers. Some philosophers have likewise said: 'Who is not touched by the spring and by flowers, by music and its harmonious accents, has corrupted humours and needs medicine.' When Yusuf had assented to the wishes of his brothers, all of them went to Ya'qûb to ask for permission, saying: 'O excellent father, allow Yusuf to enjoy himself according to the prosperity of his august destiny, to accompany us to the desert, and to spend this day with us in the arena of pleasure, to pasture the sheep for an hour, to race the horses for awhile, to pass some time in eating, to amuse himself with sports; and we shall take good care of him.' When they had thus again brought their desire to the notice of Ya'qûb he replied: 'I am now so attached to this child, that if you take him away I do not know what effect the inroad of grief and melancholy will make upon my weak and faint heart. I moreover fear lest a wolf devour him without your knowledge.' Some expounders state, that before the long night of separation had begun, Ya'qûb had a dream in which he beheld himself sitting on the top of a mountain, and Yusuf walking at the foot of it, when all at once several wolves made their appearance from various quarters with the intention of destroying him; but when Ya'qûb hastened down from the mountain to deliver his son, he perceived that the ground had opened and swallowed Yusuf. After the sons had listened to the excuse of their kind father, they said: 'Excellent parent, how could a wolf attempt to display any boldness in the recess of the sanctuary, and how could a dog venture to attack ten men, strong like elephants, valiant like lions, and furious like tigers?'

Record of Yusuf's Request and his Father's Compliance therewith. His Departure with his Brethren, and their throwing him into the Well, and Narrative of some Events which happened after that dreadful Incident.

Whilst the conversation between Ya'qûb and the [future] fathers of the tribes was being protracted to extreme lengths, Yusuf entered his father's assembly, and after uniting his prayers to those of his brothers, and promising to return speedily, Ya'qûb still desired to refuse him, but Yusuf began suddenly to weep and to be much distressed, thereon his father's heart was so touched that he consented to let him go, on condition that his brothers would return in his company; so that Ya'qûb made his sons happy by complying with their desires. They left their father, and returned to their houses so full of joy that they were the whole night counting the stars with their eyes, until the sun rose, and the moon set in the deep well of the West. When the herald of morning invited them to separate, the sons of Ya'qûb hastened to wait upon him, and assured him that they would keep the promise exacted from them. The old man called Yusuf, contemplated his august person for awhile, and wept for an hour on account of the approaching separation from his fortune-boding physiognomy, and after having expended the sorrow of his mind upon his symmetrical stature, he dressed him in a robe of white wool, placed the turban of the prophet Esahâq on his head, with the cloak of Sheth on his back, gave him the sandals of Adam the pure, and the staff of Nûh the confident. Thus he surrendered him to his brothers, and escorted him for awhile.

It is said that near the gate of the town there was a high tree under which friends were in the habit of taking leave of each other. When Ya'qûb had reached this spot with his sons, he halted, took Yusuf into his arms, and bidding him farewell in a very touching manner, he said to Yahuda: 'I entrust Yusuf to thy care, hoping that thou

wilt guard him and not fail to watch over him.' The cause of the subsequent separation of Ya'qûb from Yusuf during many years was, because he had recommended his son to another than the Sovereign Guardian, in accordance with the traditions, in which we read that God—w. n. b. e. —sent a revelation to Ya'qûb, of the following purport: 'Knowest thou why I have separated thee from Yusuf?' He said: 'No, my Lord.' God—w. n. b. e.—continued: 'Because thou hast feared the wolf, and hast not feared Me; hast looked at the heedlessness of Yusuf's brothers, and hast not considered the prayers due to Me, and hast selected another, instead of Me, to guard him.'

After Ya'qûb had recommended his darling son to Yahuda, he turned to Yusuf and said: 'My son, listen to my injunctions, for we may be separated longer than thou expectest. Forget not thy father, and laugh not with anyone until thou hast again seen my face, because thy father will not smile before he has again beheld thy pleasant countenance.' After these words Ya'qûb wept bitterly, shedding abundant tears. Then he once more embraced Yusuf, and recommended him to the protection of God. Fariàbi has related in the 'Noâdir-ul-qasas' that after Yusuf had walked several paces with his brethren, Ya'qûb uttered an exclamation of grief, and fainted. When his sons perceived this, they returned and assembled around him. After recovering he again took Yusuf into his arms and once more inhaled the perfume of love from the fresh rose-leaves of his beauty, fetched a deep sigh from his grief-stricken breast, and said: 'This is the odour of separation'; and supporting his head on the shoulder of the apple of his eye, he wept so much that Yusuf's robe was moistened.

Distich: Would that I had lived in Nûh's time!
I might have bemoaned severance from the Friend.

After this scene, Ya'qûb left Yusuf in the company of his brothers, and deplored the separation from his beloved son in the following strains:

Verses : How could my heart stand up in the ranks of love
Since thy departure has broken the army of my heart?
The cypress of my heart trembles like a willow
From the fear of thy separation, O cypress-heart!
Thou art that auspicious, high-soaring Homâi.[179]
From love to thee the dove of the heart lowers its flight.

When the brothers departed with Yusuf, they vied with each other in showing him civilities, but as soon as they were out of the sight of their father, they folded up the carpet of friendliness and began to insult him. Sometimes they struck his cheeks, and at others they made him run before themselves with all his might. When Yusuf was drowned in perspiration from the excessive heat, and drops of sweat were trickling down his beauteous cheeks, he became overpowered with the feebleness engendered by thirst, turned the face of weakness and of helplessness towards his brethren, and asked them for some water, but as they had strewed the dust of hardheartedness into the eyes of kindness, they refused. Then he asked for a little food, because he had become very hungry, but they listened not, and when Yusuf's lamentations and restlessness exceeded all bounds, one of his brothers said, 'Well, dreamer of false dreams!' Another thus addressed him: 'Ask aid from the fixed and the moving stars, which were on that night [of thy dream] alert in thy service, that they may protect thee?' It is related that Ya'qûb had put into a drinking vessel a little water, mixed with a quantity of milk, and had entrusted it to Shima'ûn, who was to give it to Yusuf when he felt thirsty. The latter asked the former for some water, but Shima'ûn spilled it all on the ground, and severing the relations of consanguinity replied: 'Why complainest thou so much of thirst? This moment I shall with the scissors of vengeance cut through the strings of thy life!' When Yusuf heard this news of death, he began to tremble like a slender cord suspended in a well and commenced to pray thus: 'O helper of those who implore

179 Homâi, the bird of paradise, or phœnix, is of happy omen. It never touches the ground, and the person whom it overshadows will wear a crown.

Thee, have mercy upon my weak and helpless condition, and deliver me from the vortex of destruction!' Then he turned his blessed face to Rubil and said: 'O brother, thou art more kind and humane than all my other brothers, and I hope thou wilt quench the flames of my thirst with a drop of water.' Rubil, however, gave him a repulsive answer, and poured an insalubrious beverage into the throat of his soul. When Yusuf had despaired of Rubil, and perceived his brothers' intentions of slaying him, he stretched forth his hands towards the skirts of Yahuda's mercy, and said: 'O brother, my father has entrusted me to thy care, and has confided in thy kindness. Say what is my sin, and what is my offence.' His brother replied 'O Yusuf, thy existence itself is a sin, which cannot be counterbalanced by another sin.' Yusuf's unhappy position, nevertheless, moved the vein of Yahuda's fraternity, and the lion [of Yahuda's affection] raised the fangs of [Yusuf's] defence. Yahuda was a man whose hair bristled up on his body like thistles whenever his face was reddened by the fire of anger, and every time his voice of thunder was heard, pregnant women were, in consequence of their fright, suddenly delivered of their children. When he discovered the evil intentions of his brothers towards Yusuf, he resisted them, and exclaimed: 'O Yusuf, be at ease, and discard thy apprehensions, for as long as one spark of life remains in me, no one shall attempt thy life.' Thereupon the brothers withdrew the hand of enmity into the sleeve of civility for fear of Yahuda, and consulted with him what they ought to do with Yusuf. Then Yahuda said: 'I cannot allow Yusuf to be killed, nor agree with you in murdering him, because an unjust death is a great sin and an enormous transgression. If you like we will return and surrender him to our father.' They continued: 'It is impossible to take Yusuf to Ya'qûb, since he has become aware of our intention, and knows the secret of our minds, which he will reveal to his father as soon as he returns.' After some hesitation Yahuda said: 'It will be best to throw him

into a well, where he will either surrender the deposit of his life to the requisites of fate, or some one will draw him out and take him away; so we shall at any rate attain our object without the agency of death.' All approved of this advice, and they discovered at a distance of three Farsakhs from Kana'an a well, which was four hundred, and according to another tradition, seven hundred, cubits deep, but according to the most correct opinion its depth was seventy cubits. It is said that this well was one of the works of Sâm, the son of Nûh, and was called The Well of the Good.' When they had taken Yusuf to the well they desired to besmear his body with loam. He adjured them, by the old age of his father, and by his own youth, not to do so. His brothers, however, took no notice of his entreaties, and stripped off his robe, also tying his hands and legs. Yusuf besought them to leave him at least his garment, so that he might not be in a state of nudity in that fearful place, but they replied 'Tell the stars of heaven to bestow upon thee a dress of their own texture. Call upon the sun and the moon to place in this locality a diadem of glory and magnificence upon thy head.' Yusuf only wept on hearing their jibes, and his grieved heart was roasted by the fire of sorrow:

Verses That despite the hardheartedness of those people
It did not rain stones from heaven is wonderful,
That after this dreadful catastrophe the spheres
Still revolve, the sky is bright, and the sun shines.

Then the jealous brethren of Yusuf threw him into the well, which they covered with a heavy stone. Yusuf, however, had not yet reached the middle of the well when Jebrâil left his heavenly mansion by the command of God, approached Yusuf, and seated him on a white stone, which had risen from the water. When the reptiles of the water perceived him sitting on the stone, they said to each other 'Remain quiet in your places, for one of the great men of the age has become our guest' They accordingly did not move as long as Yusuf remained there. On that occasion Jebrâil taught Yusuf the prayer of the cup[180] mentioned in

[180] This is the divining-cup, to be mentioned afterwards.

histories and traditions, and enjoining him to persevere therein, he left him.

When the time drew near for the greatest luminary to conceal itself behind the dark curtains of night, Yahuda turned the attention of the brothers in another direction, and watching the opportunity, he approached the brim of the well and exclaimed: 'O brother Yusuf, art thou alive or dead?' The latter replied: 'I am neither alive nor dead. Who art thou to care for a helpless one, and fearest not to be injured by my brothers?' Yahuda answered: 'I am thy brother Say how thou art, and how thy time passes' Yusuf continued: 'How could he be, who has lost his mother, is separated from his father, against whom his brothers harbour evil intentions; who is naked, hungry, thirsty, imprisoned, alone in a dark well, and afflicted with a hundred miseries?' At these words Yahuda lost his self-possession, and wept bitter tears Yusuf again called out from the well 'O brother, every dying person makes his will, and my last will is this: that thou mayest behold no youth without remembering my youth, nor an orphan without recollecting my helpless condition, nor a stranger without thinking of my exile.' When Yahuda heard these words he began to moan and to weep so loudly that all the other brothers approached him, blamed him, fixed a larger stone upon the well, and went away. Hereon Yusuf grew *quite helpless, and his noble mind* became more contracted than the ring of the letter *mim*. He despaired of his life, and raising the standard of distress and petition towards the mansion of the Bestower of all good gifts, sent the messenger of lamentation up to the palace of heaven. When the painful sobs of Yusuf reached the gilded mirror of the sphere, Jebrâil was ordered to leave his station in paradise and to keep company with Yusuf for an hour. He accordingly left the celestial vaults and descended into the hexagonal area of the terrestrial world; and having shown himself to Yusuf in the depth of the well, he first placed before him the tablet of favours, and then presented him with the beverage of kindness. After that he

produced the robe which Ebrahim had worn by the command of the Glorious Sovereign during [his exposure to] the fire of Nimrud, and of which Ya'qûb had made an amulet for the arm of Yusuf, out of its envelope, and adorned his blessed body therewith. He also gladdened and exhilarated the luminous mind of the Lord Yusuf in the dark well with joyful news, saying: 'Quickly the envy manifested towards thee will abate, and soon the dark night of thy misery will be changed into days of abundant pleasure and amenity. Thou wilt lean against the throne of royalty, and thy tyrannical brothers will stand ranged as servants on the carpet of humiliation, when thou wilt rehearse to them their past acts, and they will confess their wickedness, as God has said: "Thou wilt upbraid them with these their works, and they will not know [what to reply ?]."'

When the brothers had left Yusuf in the well, they returned to their tent, slaughtered a kid, besmeared Yusuf's robe with the blood thereof, and after it had become dry they wended their way homeward. As it had been customary with the brothers always to return from hunting and roaming before sunset, and they were on this occasion tarrying after it, Ya'qûb became uneasy, and said to a bondmaid of the name of Safra: 'Take my hand I shall go to meet my children, and see what is the reason of their delay.' After walking awhile Ya'qûb ascended a hill, looked forward, and despatched the courier of hope to meet the beauty of Yusuf, waiting for the apple of his eye to return, and the departed soul again to unite with the body. After a long time had elapsed in expectation, and the obscurity of night had terminated, Ya'qûb said in the height of his melancholy to Safra: 'Girl, call my children aloud. Perhaps I may hear their voices before I meet them, and be consoled by their life-increasing answer.' Safra therefore exclaimed: 'O sons of Ya'qûb, your noble father is waiting here for you, make haste to come.' The brothers heard the calls of Safra, and began to vociferate like the chanticleers of morning. They cunningly lacerated their clothes, strewed dust on their heads

and shouted: 'Alas for Yusuf! Alas for our darling!' Ya'qûb asked: 'What wailings and lamentations are these? What has happened?' Safra explained what they were saying, and when he understood it he fainted.

Verses: What shall I do without thee to this burnt heart,
And to this life, pierced by the arrow of separation?
Be just. For it will be extremely difficult
Without thee to keep life and heart, which are accustomed to thee.

Meanwhile the sons arrived and beheld their father prostrated on the ground. Yahuda made haste to wait upon him, took the blessed head of Ya'qûb into his arms, and began to revile his brothers, saying: 'How have we acted? how have we sifted the dust of cruelty and poured it on our heads by throwing our brother into the well, ruining our father, forfeiting our good characters, and burning our souls with the fire of shame? What wise persons will commit such acts, and what prudent individuals have ever perpetrated similar deeds?' They took up their father and conveyed him to his domicile, but Ya'qûb remained all night in a state of unconsciousness. When the matutinal zephyr commenced to blow, he recovered himself a little, glanced at his children and said: 'O my sons, where is the light of my vision, and what has become of the apple of mine eye, that he is not here?' Hereupon all of them unanimously exclaimed: 'O father, we were running races with each other, we left Yusuf with our baggage and a wolf has devoured him.' When Ya'qûb heard these words he again fainted, but after some time he asked his sons: 'My children, where are we? and why are we so confused?' They replied: 'Thou art in thine own domicile, and thou reposest in the place of thine own grandeur.' He continued: 'Where is my Yusuf?' They rejoined: 'He is absent.' Ya'qûb asked: 'If he be absent, then who is present?'

Verses: In my hands his two ringlets I wish.
All this is nothing, only him I wish.
The whole world, beauteous as his face, I wish.
From the rose-bush the union of colour and odour I wish.

Rubil now came forward from among the brothers and said: 'May Allah reward you, with reference to Yusuf, with the best of rewards! We were shooting arrows and racing horses, and left Yusuf with our baggage, when a wolf suddenly approached that innocent one and devoured his tender body.' Ya'qûb uttered a shout of lamentation at these words, and began to tremble like an epileptic—

Distich: What my poor unfortunate heart
Dreaded, that happened to it.

When he asked for Yusuf's dress, which was bespattered with blood, it was given to him, and he exclaimed: 'It must have been a strange wolf that tore him to pieces, and left his dress entire' Then he ordered his sons to produce the wolf. Accordingly they went to the desert, captured a wolf, smeared blood on his mouth, showed him to Ya'qûb, and said that he had killed Yusuf. Then Ya'qûb turned towards the wolf asking: 'Hast thou devoured my darling and the apple of mine eye?' The wolf, however, replied in elegant language as follows: 'Salutation to thee, O prophet of Allah! God forbid that I should have perpetrated that criminal deed. As we have not even the power to approach thy sheep, and to ravage thy flocks, how could we hurt thy beloved son? The eating of the flesh of prophets and of saints is prohibited to us rapacious beasts. To hurt their excellencies is a great sin in our religion and a terrible crime.' After that the wolf addressed the sons of Ya'qûb as follows: 'Have you seen me devour Yusuf?' When they witnessed the eloquence of the wolf they became apprehensive of their own ignominy, and said: 'We have not seen thee devour him, but as we knew that a wolf had done so, and caught thee prowling about in that direction, we concluded that thou hadst committed that foolish [*sic*] act.' Then the wolf kissed the ground of servitude and said: 'O prophet of Allah, I am a stranger and come from the region of Egypt.' Ya'qûb queried: 'Why hast thou undertaken this journey, and undergone so much trouble and toil?' He continued: 'For the purpose of visiting a brother whom I have at Sana'a, I have journeyed

towards that country, and have felt the pains of travel and the afflictions of exile. To-day when I reached this Vâdi thy sons captured me, tied my feet and neck, brought me to thy holy presence, and accused me of having devoured thy son.' Ya'qûb was moved by these words, and turning to his sons said: 'A wolf undergoes hardships and travels to Sana'a for the purpose of visiting his brother; but you have with your own hands destroyed your beloved brother, and have neglected to guard him.' After this Ya'qûb asked the wolf: 'Is my son dead or alive?' The wolf rejoined: 'Why hast thou not asked Jebrâil about this?' Ya'qûb answered: 'I have inquired, but have not obtained a categorical reply.' The wolf continued. 'If Jebrâil has not the power to reveal the state of the case, how could I be able to disclose that secret?' After this conversation Ya'qûb added: 'O wolf, remain thou in this neighbourhood and associate with me, that I may deplore the separation from my son, while thou bemoanest the absence of thy brother.' The wolf then placed the face of submission upon the ground of humility, and said. 'O prophet of Allah, to be in thy service is felicity, but I have children who cannot live without me.' Therefore Ya'qûb dismissed the wolf, who departed and turned his face towards Egypt.

The author of the 'Al-lutâif' has stated that when the wolf left Ya'qûb, he ascended a hill, and exclaimed. 'O ye who are of the same race with me, woe be unto you if you have destroyed the son of Ya'qûb! Woe upon you who have injured one of the inspired prophets! Should you, however, be innocent of this suspicion, hasten quickly to the mansion of Ya'qûb, excuse yourselves, and cleanse the area of your circumstances from the dust of this crime.' The chronicler informs us that several thousand wolves assembled around the house of Ya'qûb, raising their voices in lamentation and wailing. He then came out, whereon all the wolves became silent, fell at the feet of his lordship, placing their heads upon the ground, and saying with the tongue of the circumstances:[181] 'God forbid that we should

[181] Eastern writers often cause not only animate but also inanimate beings to speak in the language of circumstances which—it must be

have hurt thy beloved darling, or that we should in any way have injured him. Neither could such a thing happen, since our lives depend upon the blessing of thine existence, and our subsistence is connected with the benefits of thy liberality.' Ya'qûb accepted their excuses, and turning towards his sons said: 'Your evil disposition has induced you to perpetrate a strange act, and has decoyed your minds to undertake an extraordinary business.' Then suddenly looking towards the valley, he exclaimed: 'O Yusuf! O my child! O my darling! O thou apple of my eye! Into what well have they thrown thee? in what sea have they drowned thee? With what sword have they killed thee, and in what land have they buried thee?'

Verses: Thou hast left, but thy image has not left my heart,
Thy love has not abandoned my saddened heart;
That life which now passes in bitterness—
Alas, was not spent when we were united.

During this lamentation and wailing Jebrâil descended and said: 'O prophet of Allah, thou hast moved to tears the dwellers in the upper regions, and thou hast caused those who abide in the sublimest place to moan. Affairs are managed with patience, and haste soon terminates.' Ya'qûb replied: 'O brother, hereafter I shall fly to the refuge of patience, and shall beseech the Lord of it to grant me endurance. Because patience is best, and God will assist us against what they machinate.'

Verses: Be patient, O my heart, in the pain of inward grief.
For all thou knowest, it may become of use to thee
Knowest thou that it affects no one but thee?
There is hope that one day it will have done with thee.

In short, Yusuf is said to have remained three days and nights at the bottom of the well, during which time Jebrâil came every day to give him the consolations of the invisible world, and informed him of future hopes, which pacified Yusuf till time elapsed and his delivery took place. By a lucky accident, or, rather, good fortune, a company

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admitted—is sometimes as evident, as if the record had been made by tongue or pen.

of merchants were travelling from Madayn[182] to Egypt. Their chief was Mâlek, the son of Za'r, of the tribe of Khoza'a. They happened, however, to lose their way, and the director of fate turned the bridle of their caravan on that occasion towards that well, and the guide of the reins of destiny moved their intention towards that source of felicity [*sic*]. When they arrived near the well, Mâlek ordered the people to alight and to encamp there, so as to prevent the necessity of suffering from thirst. After they had reposed in the place and spent the night, Mâlek Bin Za'r sent two slaves to the well for the purpose of drawing water. The name of one of them is said to have been Basheer, and historians agree that the other was called Bashar. When Basheer lowered the bucket, Yusuf thought that his brothers had come to draw him out of the well, and to overturn the noble building of his existence. At that moment Jebrâil informed Yusuf of the command of the Lord of Glory—whose name be magnified—saying: 'O Yusuf, sun of meeting. Arise and take thy seat in this bucket, because we have made a caravan go astray for thy sake. Be of good cheer. This caravan has been put to some trouble and affliction for the purpose of delivering thee.' Then, by the command of the Most Wise Sovereign, that full moon entered the mansion of the bucket,[183] attached himself to the strong cable of divine grace, and Jebrâil assisted Basheer, who drew the bucket up with ease. When the slave perceived Yusuf he was in an ecstasy of joy, and exclaimed: 'This is good news. Here is a youth.'

Distich: See! One day the parrot of my soul towards his lips
Went, by the odour of a pistachio, but found sugar.

It is said that the brothers of Yusuf had kept a man near the well, to see whether the earth would give forth the pledge entrusted to it, to observe whether it would reveal the secret confided to it, and to inform them so as

[182] Madayn is the dual of Madinah, *city*, but generally means Ctesiphon and Seleucia. See Gen. xxxvii. 28: 'Then there passed by Midianites,' etc.

[183] The sign Aquarius is also called bucket (*dalu*); hence the above figure of speech.

to enable them to take the necessary steps. When the watchman perceived what was taking place he went in all haste and informed the brothers that Yusuf was being rescued. The sons of Ya'qub no sooner heard this news than they jumped up like maniacs, performed the journey in the twinkling of an eye, arrived near the well, quarreled with the people of the caravan, and said. 'This is our fugitive slave, it is several days since he fled and was lost. We could not get any news about him, though we searched much.' The people of the caravan replied. 'God forbid that this man should be a slave! This jewel appears to come from the mine of a noble and ancient race, and this scion is endowed with the characteristics pertaining to an exalted [genealogical] tree.' The brothers rejoined 'No He was a slave, but born in an opulent family, and the nurse of an ancient lineage has suckled him with the milk of education. It is some time since he turned the tables of his affairs against us, and drew the line of injury through the index of contents of all fidelity.' The veracious one [i. e. Joseph] heard all these words, kept the seal of taciturnity upon his lips, and moved them not to refute their assertions After that the brothers said to the people of the caravan 'We shall sell this slave with this fault If you like to purchase him, do so, or else restore him to us' After the merchants had pondered over the behaviour of the sons of Ya'qûb and the silence of Yusuf, they believed the former. Moreover, when they asked Yusuf concerning the true state of the case, the veracious one shook his blessed head, and said 'Yes, I am a slave, and slave-born, and at any rate I consent to be a slave.' He spoke thus because he feared that in case he should reveal the true state of the case something worse might ensue. Mâlek Bin Za'r accordingly desired to buy him, asked the brothers about his price, and they said: 'O Mâlek, we shall not be particular with thee about the price of this slave, and we shall take whatever thou thinkest proper to give.' Mâlek then purchased Yusuf for some uncurrent dirhems which he had in his bag. Historians, however, differ about the number of those coins,

and their statements vary from ten to one hundred and twenty dirhems;[184] but Allah is most wise. It is said that the brothers accepted the base coins from Mâlek and divided them amongst themselves, taking, after that, Yusuf by the hand and surrendering him to Mâlek. The purchaser also desired to possess a contract of sale of that solar face, which was accordingly written by Shima'ûn, and the clause inserted that Mâlek was to keep this slave in fetters, and not to open them before they had arrived in Egypt. On this occasion Yusuf looked with great sadness upon his brothers, and wept on account of their hard hearts, wherefore we jot down the following verses to commemorate the separation of friends

Verses. We departed, and thus we mentioned not to each other
The meeting which made us bloom, like roses, with each other
Alas, that we should be separated from each other!
For we shall again meet each other.

It is said that when the brothers sold Yusuf to Mâlek they said: 'Besides the fault of running away, this slave is also addicted to stealing, and you must not neglect to watch him' These and similar warnings prompted Mâlek to place heavy fetters on the legs of Yusuf, and to appoint an ill-humoured slave to take care of him. Then the merchants struck the drum of departure with the sticks of travel, and Yusuf requested Mâlek to allow him, according to the usual custom, to see his sellers once more, and to take leave of them; but Mâlek replied. 'Boy, since they have no affection or mercy towards thee, what is the use of so much regard on thy part for them?' Yusuf replied: 'Every one spends what he possesses.'

Distich I cannot wish evil to anyone,
For the good and evil of this world are but transient.

By Mâlek's permission Yusuf dragged his chain towards his brothers, whose hands and feet he kissed, after embracing each of them. Though he entreated them much, they showed no sign of compassion, and manifested no kindness of feeling. Yusuf therefore returned with a

[184] See Gen, ch. xxxvii. 28.

broken heart and worn-out mind to the caravan, where he was placed on a camel and carried at full speed towards Egypt. His lordship submitted to the toils of exile and to the humiliation of servitude, but deplored the separation from his father, and tears flowed from his eyes like rain. Meanwhile the caravan arrived near the sepulchres of Ya'qûb's family, where Yusuf beheld the tomb of his mother, threw himself from the camel, and hastened to visit it. There he burst into the following strain:

Verses: O thou who art gone, and hast taken with thee our glory,
Hast made a fire-temple of my sorrow-courting heart.
I strew dust on my head and I say:
Where is the breeze that will bring thine odour to me?

The slave who guarded Yusuf perceived that he was not on the camel, but after looking for him he beheld him sitting on a heap of earth and weeping. In his folly he struck the tender face of Yusuf, and, believing the allegations of his brothers, insulted him, became impetuous and scattered salt over the recent wound. His lordship, indignant at this behaviour and incivility, turned his face towards heaven and complained to the wisest of judges and refuge of the oppressed. His petition having that very moment been stamped with the seal of response, a violent storm arose, and black clouds appeared, the compactness whereof, combined with the blowing of the winds, produced such confusion and darkness that the people of the caravan were unable to see each other, and despaired of life. When Mâlek, the son of Za'r, saw this state of affairs, he said: 'O companions, consider well what unworthy deeds and what opprobrious acts you have committed—repent, and ask pardon, since the blackness of our crimes has influenced the atmosphere. For God does not change towards a people until they themselves change' The men of the caravan replied: 'We are not aware of any of our sins which may have brought upon us this punishment.' At last, however, the [above-mentioned] ill-fated slave came forward and said: 'All this trouble has overtaken us on account of what I have perpetrated, and this

hardship has been inflicted upon us on account of my impudence; for I have this hour struck the face of the Kana'anitish slave, who then wept, looked up to heaven, and moved his lips in prayer. Therefore this commotion of the earth and weather has taken place, as you see.' The chief of the caravan, with all the people of it, as well as the slave, then approached the veracious one [*i. e.* Joseph]; they prostrated themselves at his feet and craved his pardon. Yusuf accepted their excuse, looked towards the Qiblah of prayer and besought the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—to deliver them. The motion of the atmosphere then suddenly ceased, the bridegroom of the sun removed the veil from his face, and the weather assumed its normal state. When Mâlek had experienced this blessing he took the hand of the slave, brought him to Yusuf, whom he requested to punish the fellow according to his own pleasure. Yusuf replied: 'What need is there of these words? I am one of those who are beneficent and forgiving, and I do not requite evildoers with anything but pardon' He accordingly forgave the transgression of the slave, and drew the line of oblivion over the volume of his sin. After this event the fetters were taken off from Yusuf, and he was treated not only with respect, but with awe. The caravan continued its journey, but after travelling for some time arrived in the vicinity of Egypt, and the people, happening to discover a pleasant locality, all alighted near a fountain. As Yusuf had been affected by the fatigues of the journey, and the rust of dust had settled upon the mirror of his beauty, Mâlek ordered him to enter the fountain and to wash off the impurities of the road. When Yusuf approached the fountain, Jebrâil the faithful brought the cupola beneath which Adam and Eve had sheltered themselves before their fall, and placed it over the fountain, so that Yusuf's august body might remain protected from the sight of strangers, and preserved from the evil eye. The author of the 'A'in-ul-ma'ani' states that after Yusuf had remained for some time in that bath, Mâlek Bin Za'r became apprehensive of his safety, and

despatched messengers to bring him information about that source of felicity and excellence. They accordingly separated in the desert, but no one could tell them where he was, concealed as he happened to be under the dome of magnificence, and veiled by the curtain of purity. Shortly afterwards, however, the people of the caravan beheld Yusuf arriving in a form, the aspect of whose beauty awed the wise; and the face of the moon appeared dark in comparison to the brightness of his countenance. Mâlek asked. 'O Yusuf, where hast thou been, as we were unable to find thee?' But the discriminating intellect replied. 'How could every eye glance at the fountain of light, and how could each vision behold the figure of the soul?'

After Yusuf had rejoined the caravan, it proceeded to the city. When the rumour of that bright moon, or rather the splendour of that all-conquering sun, had shed its rays over the whole of Egypt, all the inhabitants of that country endeavoured to catch sight of the beauty of Yusuf, and desired to meet him. They accordingly paid a visit to the caravan, and everyone recited the following lines.

Verses · This city is full of good news about him,
The hearts of the inhabitants are attached to him
We endeavour and others endeavour [to know]
Who will have the felicity to be his friend.

The author of the 'Zubdat-ut-tovârikh' states that the Almighty—w n b. pr—had bestowed upon the world-adorning beauty of Yusuf a light, which shone to a distance of one day's journey, and wherever his lordship went, that splendour radiated like the sun, and advanced before him one stage. On the day of his arrival in Egypt, the weather happened to be cloudy, therefore the world-illuminating countenance of the sun was invisible; and before the solar disc had opened its veil, a reflection had fallen from Yusuf's night-like ringlets into that country. In short, when the light of his brilliant countenance began to scintillate, it illuminated the world like the intellect of the pure, of the sagacious, and of the acute. The news of Yusuf's beauty

spread over Egypt, whereon the hearts of the anxious, and the souls of the noble-minded, ascended to their lips from longing for his august arrival.

When the inhabitants issued from the city to meet the caravan, the king likewise sent his agent and confidant, who was called the A'ziz of Egypt,[185] to purchase Yusuf. When the agent had met the caravan, and begun to converse with Mâlek, the latter said: 'Wait a little till we enter the city, and rest ourselves for three days from the fatigues of the road and the toils of the journey; then we shall act according to the command of him to whom obedience is due.' The A'ziz assented, whereon they entered the city in full pomp on the tenth of the sacred month of Muharram. After the expiration of three days a chair was erected according to the usage of the Egyptians, Yusuf was seated thereon, and a herald proclaimed: 'Who will buy this lovely boy? Who will buy this intelligent boy?' But Yusuf forbade him to use such words, and told him rather to shout: 'Who will buy this sad boy? Who will buy this foreign boy?' Intending purchasers became numerous, and enhanced the price of Yusuf every moment. The veracious one perceived this state of affairs, he tore the zone of endurance, and suspended, from the conch of his eyes, strings of pearls upon the surface of his countenance,[186] and having become saddened and depressed at the spectacle of this transaction, he withdrew his head into the tunic of meditation. At that moment Jebrâil the faithful arrived, and conveyed to him the following message from the Lord of both worlds: 'Beloved one, be not sad or of an anxious heart, for I swear by My magnificence and glory, that I shall not take thee out of this town before I have placed the mark of servitude and obedience to thee upon the foreheads of the fortunes of these persons who have at present come to look at thee to purchase thee.' When the herald exclaimed the fourth time: 'Who will

[185] *A'ziz* was for a long time the title of the viceroy of Egypt, which has been changed to *Khedive* in the present century.

[186] *I.e.*, he wept.

purchase this lovely boy?' Yusuf lost the thread of patience, and turning to him, said: 'If thou meanest to speak the truth, say, "Who will buy the veracious one of God, the son of the Esrâil of God, the son of the sacrifice of God."' When the people heard these words they began to shout, and Mâlek asked: 'What mean these words? and who is alluded to by the name of the Veracious?' Yusuf replied: 'The veracious one is he who is a slave and a prisoner.' Mâlek said: 'O Yusuf, why hast thou not informed me of this before, that both of us might have been spared this shame and insult?' Yusuf continued: 'I kept the true state of the case concealed, because I feared the evil intentions of my brothers, and my life was in danger' Mâlek asked: 'Thou art perchance the son of that old man whom I saw in the vicinity of Kana'an when I arrived there, and who was weeping and saying, "O Lord, restore to me my son, the darling of my heart?"' Yusuf said: 'O Mâlek, in what state have you left that old man?' Mâlek replied: 'Dear friend, how can I explain the condition of a man who has been separated from one like thee?' At these words Yusuf became sad, began to weep, and said: 'That old man is the Esrâil of God, and my beloved father.' Mâlek then apologised, and continued:

Verses: What remedy is there now
When dry lips and eyes are no more?
What help have I since inundation overflowed me?

'Now that I have exposed thee for sale, I fear that I shall injure only mine own soul.' Yusuf replied: 'O Mâlek, be of good cheer, since compliance with fate is one of the distinguishing marks of the righteous, and one of the good qualities of the pious.

Distich: Invite either to desire, or give news of peace.
Whatever is thy wish, is my wish also.

Judgment belongs to God, and He is the best of judges.'

Let it not remain unknown to the discerning minds of the intelligent that whatever has been recorded in these pages concerning Yusuf has been taken from the book entitled 'Jâmi' Aa'zim,' which contains the history of the

world. In several of these narratives and traditions Muhammad Bin Jarir-ut-Tabari, Hâfez Abru, and all the other historians disagree; but as the author of this work will be excused by scholars and by critics from rehearsing various opinions with reference to this subject, he has consulted all the chief historians, and has compiled the real narrative in an abridged manner, and relates it as follows:

All chroniclers who have written about this matter agree that one day O'mar Farûq—u. w. b., etc.—was discussing the superiority of the blessed volume [*i.e.* Qurân] over all the other celestial books[187] with a company of Jews, who maintained that the narrative of the beauteous youth of Kana'an was one of the most popular stories among them. They said that it is narrated in the Pentateuch, and asked how the Qurân could be preferable to other books, inasmuch as it is not mentioned therein? O'mar therefore brought this objection of the enemies of the Faith to the cognisance of the Prince of Prophets, upon the speculum of whose luminous mind—which was the promulgator of the verses of the Merciful [*i.e.* revealer of the Qurân]—the dust of vexation settled when he heard what the Jews had said. On that occasion Jebrâil the Faithful arrived, and communicated this narrative to his august ear in the words of the evident verses [of the Qurân]. Some are of opinion that when the Muhâjers[188] emigrated to Madinah they were occasionally subject to melancholy on account of the calamity of exile and the misery of separation, and that they said: 'Would to God that the Qurân contained a story which resembles the flight of the companions [of Muhammad]! so that by the perusal thereof our sorrowful minds and depressed hearts might be comforted and relieved, and it might become a subject of pleasure and of

[187] O'mar was the second Khalifah after Muhammad, and also one of his companions. The celestial (*i.e.* revealed) books are by Moslems, besides the Qurân, considered to be the three following: The Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Evangel or Gospels.

[188] The *Muhâjers*, *i.e.* exiles, were the refugees who fled from Mekkah after adopting the new religion preached by Muhammad, and thus they eluded persecution.

joy to those who have suffered troubles and difficulties;' [and in consequence hereof the narrative of Joseph was incorporated in the Qurân]. There are also other opinions about the cause of the 'Chapter of Yusuf' being sent down [from heaven], the rehearsal of which would only protract this narrative

At any rate, it is said that when, on account of the love which Ya'qûb bore to Yusuf, and on account of the recitals of the true dreams of that veracious one, the flames of envy were kindled in the bosoms of his brethren, they consulted about the means of removing him. They intended either to slay him or to exile him to a distant land, so as to obtain for themselves alone the love of their father. Yahuda, however, who was the most intelligent of them, but according to other opinions Shima'ûn or Rubil, would by no means agree to murder Yusuf, and said: 'Do not kill Yusuf, but rather throw him into a well, so that the people of some caravan may take him out' One day the brothers had assembled in the private apartment of their father, which was his oratory, and said to him: 'O father, how comes it that thou trustest us not more than Yusuf, though we are his well-wishers? Send him to-morrow with us to the desert, that he may enjoy himself, play, and shoot arrows. We shall take good care of him, and not lose him.' Ya'qûb replied: 'I shall be sorry if you take him away. I fear a wolf might devour him without your knowing anything about it.' They replied: 'If a wolf devours him and we surrender him, we shall be weak indeed.' At last, however, Ya'qûb consented, whereon the brothers took away Yusuf and threw him into a well, but Yahuda, who loved him most, brought every day some food, let it down into the well, and consoled him, saying: 'I shall request my brothers to deliver thee from this misery and trouble' The brothers, on the other hand, were watching for travellers to take Yusuf out of the well and to convey him to a foreign country, but he remained three days in it.

Distich On the fourth day the youth of this victorious mansion,
Yusuf, came up, who was in the darkness of the well.

A caravan which had lost its way halted near that spot, and Mâlek Bin Za'r went with a slave to the well for the purpose of drawing water, and let the bucket down:

Verses: In the obscurity of the night, he who was like Khizar[189]
Letting down the water-measuring bucket.
Jebrâil the Faithful said to Yusuf: Arise!
Pour the clear water of mercy upon the thirsty

Yusuf, whose countenance resembled the moon, arose from the stone, and took his seat in the bucket, which Mâlek drew up with the assistance of his slave.

Distich: When the world-adorning moon arose,
From his soul he shouted: Good news!

Mâlek asked Yusuf, 'Who art thou? and how hast thou fallen into this place?' He replied: 'I am a Kana'anite, and from an excess of envy my brothers have thrown me into this well.' Then Mâlek ordered his slave to keep the true state of the case secret from the caravan and to say: 'A numerous company arrived at the well and sold us this slave. Because, if the people know the truth,' continued Mâlek, 'and convey the boy to Egypt and sell him, they will claim a share in the price.' Mâlek accordingly took Yusuf to his own place: but the brothers, who were extremely watchful, ascertained what had happened, immediately approached the caravan, and said: 'This is a slave who has fled from us.' At last, however, they sold Yusuf to Mâlek Bin Za'r for a few uncurrent dirhems. Afterwards the caravan continued its journey, and in course of time reached Egypt. When three days had elapsed, and his lordship, the veracious one, had rested himself from the fatigues of the journey, Mâlek exposed him for sale.

There are books full of narratives relating to Qatfirnâi, who was the treasurer of the King of Egypt, and surnamed A'ziz. He had a beautiful wife in his house, whose name was Râa'il, known by the appellation of Zuleikha. Others, however, state that her name was Anka, the daughter of Banûs; but his lordship, the refuge of virtues and tribunal

[189] Khizar is a prophet mentioned in the Qurân, ch. xviii 64, where the adventure of Moses with him is narrated.

of theology, my lord the Qâzi A'bd-ur-rahman-ajjâmi—may Allah perfume his utterances—has strung that costly pearl [*i.e.* narrative] with his diamond nature in the following manner:

Verses: Thus spoke that discriminating orator
Who had in his magazine a treasure of gems:
That in the western country there was a famous king
Proclaimed by the royal drum as Timûs;
He had a beauteous daughter Zuleikha by name,
With whom he had joy besides the whole world.

In short, when the price of Yusuf had been driven up to a very high sum [in the auction], Zuleikha, who had been informed of the amenity and beauty of the veracious one, incited her husband to purchase Yusuf. A'ziz replied: 'My property in cash and goods does not equal his price.' Zuleikha continued: 'Whatever ornaments there are on my ears and neck, and whatever is in my treasury, I shall surrender to Mâlek.' A'ziz said: 'In this way thy desire may be gratified, but Riân, the son of Alvalid, namely the King of Egypt, is on the point of buying him.' When Zuleikha heard this news, she hastened on the wings of celerity to wait upon the king, and returning to the house, after she had obtained permission to purchase Yusuf, she brought forth everything she possessed, and gave it joyfully to A'ziz as the price for her [coveted] darling.

Monostich: If thou askest for our head, we bring it in the twinkling of an eye.

The A'ziz of Egypt then purchased Yusuf from Mâlek Bin Za'r, who accordingly abandoned the pearl of the conch of prophecy and the gem of the mine of apostleship, but when he had become aware of his high descent and of his perfect behaviour, he fell down at his feet and offered excuses, which his lordship, the veracious one, accepted, but asked for the deed of sale, which he might use as an argument when opportunity served for putting his brothers to shame. Mâlek granted the request of Yusuf, took leave of him, and left Egypt. When the A'ziz had bought Yusuf, he enjoined Zuleikha to treat him well, and to

assign to him a good place. 'For,' said he, 'it is possible that he will be a gain to us, and we may adopt him for our son.' When Zuleikha heard the injunction that she was to assign to him a good place, she thought there could be none better than her own heart, and became extremely anxious to see him:

Verses: The jewel which the brothers threw into mud
A stranger gave it a place in her heart;
They sold him for uncurrent money,
But Zuleikha received him in her bosom.

When Yusuf's intellect became mature, the unrequited Bestower adorned him with the decorations of wisdom and knowledge, with meekness and innocence, and the banner of his good qualities was raised [i.e. his praises were sounded] by the company of the beneficent with pleasure and cheerfulness. 'And when he had attained his age of strength, We bestowed on him wisdom and knowledge, for thus do we recompense the righteous.'[190] Theologians differ in expounding the signification of the words 'age of strength.' Qotâda and Mujâhad allege that by the 'age of strength' thirty-three years are meant, which is the limit of the years of growth, from that age to forty is the stationary term, and after that the period of decay sets in, which some have likened to the state of meekness. Zohâq says it means the age of twenty years, but the most current and correct opinion of the discerning is that Yusuf the veracious —u. w. b., etc.—was seventeen years old when his brothers executed their project, and when one year had elapsed after that event, the Lord of Glory—w. n. b. pr.—distinguished him by the evidences of His unbounded favour and His infinite bounty, adorned the penetrating mind of Yusuf with the jewels of knowledge and wisdom, and with the evidences of the lights of science and learning, therefore the words 'age of strength' in the blessed verse mean eighteen years.

When Zuleikha had been enjoined by the A'ziz of Egypt to treat Yusuf well, she took good care to obey and to act as Qatfirnâi had commanded her. She accordingly caused

[190] Qurân, ch. xii. 22.

seventy robes of various colours to be prepared to adorn his Tuba-like[101] stature, which was so symmetrical; she also procured a gilded diadem, worthy of a mighty king, and placed it upon his noble head. She also obtained a necklace of pure gold adorned with precious stones, and threw it joyfully on his neck The more she adorned Yusuf in the sight of the people, the more did the handmaid of love display his beauty to the heart of Zuleikha, and the handsomer Yusuf appeared, the more loving became Zuleikha's heart:

Distich. His beauty increased day by day,
And he beguiled hearts more and more.

All the desires of Zuleikha were concentrated in the wish to keep him, who excited the jealousy of the large-eyed hûris, constantly in the house and present to her sight Yusuf, on the other hand, always wished to roam about in the desert, so that he might obtain news of his beloved father and of the dweller in the abode of mourning. When Zuleikha discovered his inclination to move about, she appointed a legion of confidential slaves to accompany that royal cavalier, like the stirrup of his foot, wherever he might choose to proceed, and not to neglect attending upon him, even for one moment Whenever Yusuf wandered about in the deserts and fields, and his servants ran on both sides, he used to go to the road of Kana'an, and was in the habit of addressing the matutinal breeze, and so touchingly to give vent to his longings that the breathings of the horizon were moved by them, and sometimes the fire of his anguish was burning so brightly that it was not easy to extinguish it with the water of patience The narrator says that one day Yusuf was out according to his usual custom, and was looking towards the road to Kana'an, when all of a sudden a man riding a camel appeared, whom Yusuf immediately questioned where he was coming from The man replied, 'From Kana'an.' 'From what direction?' 'From the Jordan.' 'From what pastures?' 'From the pastures of the family of Ya'qûb.' When Yusuf heard the

[101] This is the name of a tree in paradise.

name of his father he fainted, and lay for a long time on the ground in a state of insensibility The Arab alighted from his camel, took Yusuf's head in his arms, and waited until he had recovered himself The veracious one then asked him: 'Owner of the camel, knowest thou the Esrâil of God?' He replied: 'Yes.' Yusuf continued. 'Hast thou seen his beauty with these two narcissi,[102] and hast thou with these two world-seeing eyes drawn in the collyrium of his acquaintance?' He said 'Yes, he is the fruit of the tree of Esahâq, and the product of Ebrahim's heart.' Yusuf asked 'How hast thou left him?' He said 'Burning and weeping, drowned in the unfathomed sea of grief and separation.' The veracious one sent a burning groan to the top of the uppermost sphere, and said 'I wish Rahil had never given birth to me' Yusuf further queried. 'Wilt thou convey a message from me, who have tasted the poison of absence, to that aged man who suffers affliction?' The Arab agreed, and Yusuf continued 'Friend, my instructions to thee are, that when thou arrivest in the land of Kana'an, to alight in the vicinity of the habitations of the family of Ya'qûb, and so wait until one watch of the night has elapsed, till the affairs of the busy world are settled, and till Ya'qûb has finished his orisons. Then enter his oratory, relate to him how the days of separation appear long to me, and how I am tormented by the desire of seeing him, and say. "O melancholy one, this is the message of thine unhappy son O sorrowing one, this is the message from thine exiled son." O Arab, look well at me, and impress the aspect of my person upon thy mind. Relate all thou hast seen and heard to Ya'qûb, and inform my noble parent of all my circumstances.'

When the Arab had terminated his business he left Egypt, and after performing the journey he arrived at the domicile of Ya'qûb, and when the night had well set in he proceeded to the house of the grief of Ya'qûb to deliver his message. The latter ran out from the cottage and

[102] Narcissi, a figure of speech, meaning *eyes*

exclaimed: 'Welcome! Welcome, O A'bdullah. Where art thou coming from?'

Verses: Is it [the joy of] the garden of paradise,
Or a message from the friend?
Is it the perfume of paradise,
Or a breeze from the friend?

Having heard the message, Ya'qûb fainted, and when he recovered the Arab asked a benediction for his reward. Ya'qûb accordingly raised the hands of petition and said: 'May Allah invest thee with the robe of prosperity, and make thee one of my companions in paradise!' Ya'qûb thereon intended to communicate the news to his family, but Jebrâil descended and said: 'It is not proper for thee hereafter to mention anything about Yusuf, nor to reveal his secret to anyone.' Therefore Ya'qûb withdrew his tongue into the palate of silence, and placing the seal of muteness upon his lips, he concluded henceforth to fold up the carpet of gossiping and to conceal that precious treasure in the corner of his heart. Sometimes when he slept he beheld Yusuf in his dreams, and thought that the matutinal zephyr of meeting him was wafting, and that the dark night of separation had vanished. But although his discerning mind was pacified by visions of the beauty of Yusuf, the dreams again fled from his blessed eyes, and when he opened them he did not perceive the apple of his eye. Then he shouted from grief and called for Yusuf, his solid judgment, however, instantly checked and reproved him for speaking against the command of God, and not keeping his promise. He therefore repented, and filled his pearl-dropping mouth with a handful of earth. That very moment Jebrâil descended and said: 'The Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—swears by His glory and magnificence that for the sake of the respect thou hast manifested for His command He would resuscitate Yusuf to life again, if he were dead, in order to kindle thine eye with the lamp of his face, and to transmute thy cottage into a rose-grove by the aspect of his Tuba-like stature.' Ya'qûb, hearing these tidings that he would again meet his lost son, began to praise and to thank God.

His days, nevertheless, passed in bitterness and doubt until he heard an invisible herald exclaim:

Distich: The lost Yusuf will return, Kana'an; be not sad.
The hut of grief will become a rose-grove; be not sad.

Thereon his misery was changed to peace, and his grief to tranquillity.

STORY OF THE ASCENDENCY OF THE SOVEREIGN OF LOVE OVER THE CITY OF THE BODY OF THAT PRINCESS OF THE REALM OF ELEGANCE, NAMELY ZULEIKHA; AND THE ABSTAINING OF THE VERACIOUS ONE FROM TREACHERY, AND HIS REMAINING IMPRISONED FOR SEVERAL YEARS; AND THE CONSOLATION WHICH HIS LORDSHIP FOUND ON THE THRONE OF MAGNIFICENCE AND GLORY AFTER ALL HIS TROUBLES AND AFFLICTIONS.

The writer of this lovely story and the promulgator of these pleasant tidings thus addresses the connoisseurs of the subtleties of eloquence and of the value of elucidations: Zuleikha, who was a tenant of the harem of dignity, the signet of the sphere of elegance, the light of the eyes of the discerning, and the flambeau of the pavilion of creation, was so constant in her love to Yusuf, and so obsequious in his service, that rhetoricians and expounders must acknowledge their inability to describe it; but the lucid and modest mind of those who were endowed with truth and certainty, and of those who possess the quintessence of acuteness, has attempted to describe the course of those events as follows:

Verses: Each day when the new morning dawned
She presented him with a new robe.
When the Khosru with the golden crown was rising[103]
She adorned his head with another diadem
When his walking cypress raised his head,
She girded his loins in another manner;
The cheek of that sun of heart-deceivers
Did not appear two days with the same collar.
Twice that fresh cypress of the rose-grove of mystery
Did not raise its head with the same diadem.
That sugar-lip did not use a girdle
For his loins except [a slender one] as for a sugar-cane.

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[103] The Khosru, i.e. sovereign with the golden crown, is the sun.

It is related that when the fire of love for Yusuf had been kindled in the oven of Zuleikha's mind, its flames blazed upwards, and all the wishes of that tulip-cheeked one were concentrated in the desire to enjoy the pleasures of youth with Yusuf in the gardens of security, and in the vernal season of life. When Yusuf became aware of this intention, he shunned the society of Zuleikha, but this [shyness] only augmented her love; her full moon became a crescent, and her cypress-like stature became a toothpick.[104]

Verses: There is no hope of enjoyment in love,
The pleasure of life is not in love;
Its beginning is grief and pain,
Its end is self-denial and death.

When the affectionate nurse of Zuleikha beheld her in that state, she inquired about the cause of it, whereon the mistress explained her own efforts and Yusuf's obstinacy. The nurse wondered greatly that he entertained no affection for Zuleikha, since all Egypt was sleepless to behold her, and distracted by the radiations of her countenance. Zuleikha said: 'Despite of my pleasing manners and beauty, Yusuf deigns not to favour me with one glance, or to consider my pulchritude.' The nurse then concocted a stratagem Zuleikha acted according to her instructions, and the first thing she did was to order a palace to be built, the like of which the eye of man had never beheld under the azure vault of heaven In that castle an apartment was arranged, painted with strange and wonderful figures, among which were also the portraits of Yusuf and Zuleikha, close to each other, and repeated in various parts of the palace. In accordance with these preparations, furniture and provisions necessary for sustenance and pleasure were obtained, as also a carpet embroidered with costly rubies and various gems, which likewise contained the picture of the lover and of his mistress. Zuleikha watched her opportunity, barred the entrances and exits, took up her position on a couch, called for Yusuf on some

104 The toothpick is a symbol of emaciation

pretence, and endeavoured to induce him to have carnal intercourse with her; but Yusuf replied: 'God forbid! verily my lord hath made my dwelling with him easy.[105] O Zuleikha, how could I defile the skirts of innocence and purity with the filth of concupiscence and sin? How could I, who am the son of Esrâil and the fruit of the tree of the friend. commit forbidden and unlawful acts? How could I requite the favour of the A'ziz—who has ordered thee to respect me—and his benefits with ingratitude?' Zuleikha would, however, not listen to any excuses, and, throwing off all reserve, manifested her attachment to Yusuf very fervently; but he said: 'Think not that thou wilt by means of these satanic figments captivate the peacock of the Merciful One, or that thou canst with these carnal stratagems decoy the traveller of the straight road from his path.' Zuleikha continued. 'If thou entertainest scruples about uniting and connecting thyself with me, and if amorous dalliance be a sin according to the religion of thy fathers and ancestors, I have treasures of the gems of the sea and of mines, costly furniture and precious vessels; and if thou agreest to comply with my wishes, I shall expend all these things as a ransom for our indiscretion, and bestow them as alms upon the poor, the needy and the worthy, so that God—w. n b. e.—will pardon, and not take into account our past crime.'

After this discussion between Yusuf and Zuleikha had been protracted, as it is narrated in detailed histories and also in the poem called 'Yusuf and Zuleikha,' by my lord Mulâvi Makhdûmi,[106] the base Eblis, whose constant study is how to deceive and to seduce, inflamed the senses of Yusuf so that a carnal desire originated in his mind. It is said that during the above conversation the veracious one cast a glance upon the carpet. where he beheld his own and Zuleikha's portrait in the posture of embracing each other. He looked aside, but on the wall his eye met the same

[105] Qurân, ch. xii. 23

[106] Even such celebrated authors as Firdausi, Jâmi, and Nizâmi, not to mention a host of others, wrote poems bearing the above title.

figure, therefore he looked up to the ceiling, where he again encountered his and Zuleikha's portrait in close union. He was displeased, and glanced at Zuleikha, whose sensual appetite had by this time become very strong. She imagined that now her desires would be gratified, therefore she reiterated her caresses and solicitations. Satan likewise became an accessory to the case by suggesting false and deceitful arguments to make transgression acceptable to his lordship, who was ready to commit an act derogatory to his prophetic dignity; but divine favour came to his aid, and God said: 'But she resolved within herself to enjoy him, and he would have resolved to enjoy her had he not seen the evident demonstration of the Lord.'[197] Expounders state that the reason of Yusuf's not carrying out the intention, and of Zuleikha's disappointment, was the 'demonstration of the Lord' mentioned in the above verse. Others also maintain that in the same apartment Yusuf perceived the portrait of Ya'qûb, which addressed him aloud as follows: 'O my son, thy name is written in the list of prophets, and thou art the darling of Ya'qûb. Alas! wouldst thou, who art an heir of Ebrahim, defile the pages of the acts of prophets with sin and crime, and thus make thy heart a companion of repentance?' Some say that on the above occasion Jebrâil descended and spoke to him as follows: 'O Yusuf, the verse of chastity has been written down with the pen of dominion upon the table of divine grace, and it would be a pity to expunge so certain an order with the dust of such a crime.' According to another tradition, the figure of a hand appeared between Yusuf and Zuleikha, on the palm of which the following three lines were written in Arabic with the pen of light:

> 'Fear the day on which you will return to your Lord.
> Do not commit adultery, because it is a sinful and an evil way.
> Verily guardian angels are appointed over you, who write down your acts.'

According to another tradition, the following words were addressed to Yusuf [from heaven?]: 'What man, whose

[197] Qurân, ch. xii. 24.

name is written in the company of prophets, wishes to commit foolish acts?' According to another opinion, the same child which bore testimony to Yusuf's purity[198] said to him in eloquent language: 'O veracious one, do not commit adultery.' Some again say that in the retired apartment Yusuf's glance fell upon a curtain, and that on his asking Zuleikha what was behind it, she replied: 'It is my deity, and I have stretched the curtain before it that

Distich: He may not see an irreligious act of mine,
He may not see me in the deed, in which thou seest me.'

Hereupon Yusuf replied: 'Thou art ashamed of an idol, and shall I not be ashamed of the Eternal One?' In the history of Tabari and others there are different explanations concerning the 'demonstration of the Lord.' The writer of these pages, however, hopes to be excused from recording them, because he fears they would only be an occasion of greatly lengthening his narrative. When Yusuf was convinced by the divine argument,

Distich: He removed the Alf from the two branches of the Lamalf[199]
And was saved from the silver-lamp of camphor.

He disentangled himself from Zuleikha's arms, fled from the secret apartment, and escaped through six barred doors; but at the seventh, which was the last, she overtook him, and catching hold of his cloak from behind, she pulled it until it was torn, whereon, all of a sudden, the A'ziz appeared at the door. Zuleikha was then much ashamed, and called out to her husband: 'What shall be the reward of him who seeketh to commit evil in thy family, but a prison and sore punishment?'[200] A'ziz was amazed.

Distich: What Qâzi can judge beauty, for thou art
Thyself informer, plaintiff and witness too?

Yusuf on his part also accused Zuleikha of wishing to seduce him, as God said: 'She wanted me to lie with her.'[201] But the A'ziz, who was extremely jealous, drew his sword, and would have killed Yusuf for a sin which he

[198] This babe is again mentioned a little further on as seven months old.
[199] Allusio ad coitum. [200] Qurân, ch. xii. 25. [201] *Ibid.*, 26.

had not committed, when by divine inspiration a sucking babe of the age of seven months declared Zuleikha's falsehood, burst out into words, and, pointing to Yusuf's torn garment, said: 'If Yusuf's dress is torn in front, Zuleikha is right, and Yusuf a liar; but if it be torn behind, Zuleikha is untrue, and Yusuf is a teller of truth.'[202] When the A'ziz had investigated the case, he discovered the guilt of the former, and the innocence of the latter. He saw that Zuleikha's insisting on the punishment of Yusuf was one of her stratagems, and a sequence of her cunning disposition. Therefore he turned to Yusuf, craved his pardon, consoled and requested him not to reveal to anyone what had taken place, lest this disgraceful story should become public in Egypt, and be discussed by the vicious. Then he angrily said to Zuleikha: 'Crave pardon for thy sin, because thou art guilty in having wished to deceive thy husband, hast used pretences, and been convicted of intending to commit adultery. Thou must now perform the ordained prayers for the remission of thy sin.'

When Zuleikha was guarding the sun of Yusuf's beauty, veiled within the precincts of custody, and would not allow strangers to be gladdened by the aspect of his soul-rejoicing and grief-removing person, the women of Egypt, who were anxious to contemplate his beauteous figure, became jealous of Zuleikha, sad for Yusuf, and circulated lampoons about her:

Verses: They blamed her good and her bad qualities;
They opened the mouth of reproof towards her;
They ruined her reputation and good name,
[Saying that] Her heart was crazy for a Hebrew slave,
Which is the more strange since he hates her,
And is f[ar] from having sympathy with her.

The gossiping and the secret stories gradually became public, and were in the mouth of everyone; Zuleikha heard them, and wishing to put to shame some of their propagators, she arranged a splendid banquet for the purpose of extinguishing the fire of their envy and reprobation, and

[202] Qurân, ch. xii. 27.

invited to it the wives of many grandees, among whom were the wives of the king's cupbearer, of the table-decker, of the chamberlain, of the equerry, and of the chief jailor. For each of the just-named five ladies a couch adorned with silk-brocade, and a chair decorated with jewels, was erected. A company of singers, musicians and organ-players was engaged—for the purpose of exhilarating and amusing the assembly—and Zuleikha ordered them to commence the entertainment with amorous ditties on which occasion she handed to each of those sarcastic ladies —who were drunk with the wine of anxiety for Yusuf, desirous to blame Zuleikha, and to discover her secrets—a bright knife and a delicious orange:

Verses : And said to them O my beloved ones,
Who occupy the highest seats in the assembly of the good,
Why do you blame me so bitterly,
And reprove my love for the Hebrew slave?
Were I to allow him to come forth,
I would inform him of these your views.
All of them said : Above all stories
We have no wish except for him :
Order him to come out walking,
That he may put the skirt of loveliness on our heads,
Because we ardently long for him with heart and soul;
We saw not his face; still, we are in love with him.

Then Zuleikha issued orders that the full moon—from envy of whose beauty the sun was confused—be brought forth from his retirement, and that his veil be removed. When he, who was the envy of the Suri-rose,[203] stepped forward from the closet and the messengers of the dawn of his pulchritude arose from the horizon of the curtain, Zuleikha said:

Distich : This is the darling
For whom I am the target of blame.

When those who before reproved Zuleikha, had cast a glance at the person of Yusuf, they pitied her and confessed their own guilt. When they wished to carve the oranges, so occupied were they with looking at Yusuf that they cut their own hands, and considered themselves

[203] The Suri-rose is a beautiful flower of that species, and is here personified as being envious of Yusuf's beauty.

deserving of having their hands amputated on account of that one stolen glance.[204] Qotâda says that:

Distich: When from unconsciousness recovered,
They found their hands severed.

Wuhub informs us that several persons present in that assembly gave up the ghost [*i.e.* died] at the sight of Yusuf; the truth, however, is that painful wounds were wrought on their hands, and that they unanimously exclaimed: 'This is not a man, it is a holy angel!' Then Zuleikha said to them by way of reproof 'This is the youth for whose love you have blamed me.' The women replied: 'O Zuleikha, abandon these words! Are not we punished and blamed a hundredfold, and have we not incurred a thousand obligations towards thee? We have erred in censuring thee.' Zuleikha said: 'Beloved friends and dear sisters, console me in this matter, and aid me in this affair, for in my attachment and love for this Kana'anite my senses cease to act and my respiration is fatigued.' After the termination of the banquet those ladies returned to their homes with lacerated hands, and with the collar of patience torn, sad and melancholy. Two of the ladies, however, who were smooth-tongued, remained with Zuleikha and made a covenant with her that they would open the portals of intercourse between the lover and the beloved, and would spread out between them the couch of familiarity, because they had no idea that Yusuf was a white falcon, with eyes blind to sensuous and sensual matters, accustomed to feed on spiritual nourishment, and would never succumb to the satanic inspirations of the deceitful Eblis, nor be captured in the net of those who hunt for lust. One of these two females said to Yusuf by way of pleasantry: 'O fortunate youth, do not rejoice to see Zuleikha in the bonds of separation and affliction, but rather consider her acquiescence to be good luck. Do not

[204] They committed theft by stealing a glance, wherefore they had become liable to the punishment ordained in the Qurân, ch. v. 42: 'If a man or a woman steal, cut off their hands, in retribution for that which they have committed,' etc.

disappoint her in her hopes of union with thee, as she is a sun brought up in the shadow of chastity, and an angel whom her love for thee has led astray. In the company of the moon-faced she is like the sun among the stars; in the rose-grove of the jessamine-perfumed ones she is like the great luminary to the sight of men.

Verses : On this blue, scintillating surface
The moon is humbled by her pulchritude ;
The universe brings as offering to her Luna-face
All the gold of the stars in scales.
When she shows the jewels of her pearl casket[205]
The heart is rejoiced, the spirit nourished.
Her conversation is a gem in limpid rubies.
Her mouth is an atom in the sun[206]
In the garden of loveliness she is a walking cypress.
She is a fresh rose from the fountain-head of life,
She is a noble person created from the genii,
She is altogether politeness as the light of vision.

O Yusuf, as thou art undoubtedly the sun and she is the moon, and as the conjunction of the two luminaries is a necessity, it is best for her to be thy bride, and for thee to be her king.' Yusuf replied: 'This union and meeting is void of profit and honour, because the conjunction of the two luminaries in one degree is the cause of hostility, and the union of friends is the prelude of their separation; therefore it will be better if the moon retreats from the sun, whereby her splendour will increase. We cannot retain the purity of our essence by entering the miry abode of lust, nor can we dwell in the mansion of innocence with sinful acts, nor can we renounce paradise for the sake of indulging in a vicious disposition, neither can we gather provisions for salvation in the precincts of hell.' When that female adviser had heard these words she became silent, and restrained her breath; but the other woman stretched forth the tongue of blame, and commenced to threaten Yusuf, saying: 'Dear friend, with Zuleikha, who looks like the moon, and has a countenance like the sun, thou must not walk in the way of pride and haughtiness.

[205] The jewels were the teeth, and the pearl-casket the mouth.
[206] The limpid rubies are the lips of Zuleikha, and her face being like the sun, her very small mouth is like an atom on its surface.

It is incumbent upon thee sincerely to obey thy benefactress, and if thou persistest henceforth like a hollow-hoof to keep aloof in this matter, and again brayest forward such excuses and pretences, thou wilt indeed not remain free from the rage of vengeance, but wilt be associated with criminals and prisoners.' Yusuf replied: 'A lion of the plains of prophecy cannot be deceived by the vulpine games of the lascivious, nor will the high-soaring Homâi abandon the nest of the propinquity of the Eternal for the purpose of falling into the snares of those who are endowed with the habits of robins and the nature of sparrows.'[207] Then he sought assistance from the Supreme King of the invisible world against the deceit of women, and said: 'O Lord, the narrow prison will be more pleasant to me than this banquet, and that I should be called a sinner. The confinement of a jail will be better than this spacious rose-garden of ignominy, into which they desire to force me.' Accordingly those two women, who coveted and desired the union of Yusuf with Zuleikha, desisted, because they despaired of his compliance. They went to Zuleikha, explained the matter to her, and requested her, as a favour, to send Yusuf to prison, in the confinement of which he might learn to appreciate the value of the garden of paradise which he had lost, and might in that solitude remember Zuleikha's love, and covet it with all his heart and soul. Zuleikha approved of this suggestion, and said to the A'ziz: 'This Hebrew youth and Kana'anitish slave has put me to shame among the people, and has, in the height of his dishonesty, accused me of wishing to lie with him. Do thou imprison him, that the world may know that the skirts of my purity are free from the defilement of transgression, and that the criminal is this Hebrew slave.' The A'ziz consulted his courtiers, all of whom approved of the suggestion of Zuleikha, therefore he ordered the collar of resignation to be thrown upon the neck of that distinguished youth, who was accordingly placed in irons, and sent to a prison which is the cemetery of life, the house of mourning

[207] These birds are considered to be full of lust.

and of unhappiness, the ante-room of punishment and the narrow mansion of perplexity; the inhabitants whereof, who were pining in the corner of despair as if they had been living in their graves, received new life from the splendour of Yusuf's beauty:

Verses: When that living heart entered the prison
It infused life into the dead bodies.
Turmoil arose in that place of affliction,
Shouts of the prisoners were heard;
At the arrival of the king of beauty
All the chained ones struck their chains.

When Yusuf arrived in the prison, Zuleikha ordered the jailer to take off the collar from his neck and the fetters from his feet, to place on his head the diadem of respect, and to adorn his body with a dress of honour. The jailer complied with her orders, placed Yusuf in a separate apartment adorned with expensive couches, and perfumed with ambergris, rose-water and musk. In that apartment Yusuf dwelt, and after having finished his devotions, visited the prisoners and explained their dreams, according to the verse: 'We shall make him an interpreter of dreams.' He comforted the unhappy and the despairing with words of kindness, he became the friend of all in that unpleasant abode, and consoled every one with words befitting his circumstances. Most of the prisoners were gladdened by the aspect of his soul-exhilarating person, and forgot the afflictions of the world and the miseries of the prison for a time. Yusuf, who had, by his confinement in prison, been rescued from the blackness of the deceit of women, became habituated to the society of the prison, spent his time trusting in divine favour, and thus nights and days succeeded each other.

Distich: He sat in the abode of patience like a man,
Thanking God for having escaped the guiles of woman.

When that Luna-faced Kana'anite had been made a prisoner by the efforts of Zuleikha, and the command of the A'ziz, the mind of the lady was burning from the fire of separation.

Verses. When that cypress left the rose-garden
The rose-garden became darker than a prison.
What repose could there remain in the garden
When the rose is gone, and thorns are left?
At the departure of that rose of the garden
She tore her robes like the bursting bud

But as she had herself been the cause, and had herself planned this matter, she had no remedy; wherefore she consoled herself in the bitterness of her affliction with the following strains:

Verses: It is better for the wise to take the world bitterly,
Because sweet life terminates with bitterness.
He who dwells here in pain and grief,
Will smile in death, like a brightly-burning light.

RECORD OF YUSUF'S LIBERATION FROM THE NARROW PRISON, AND OF HIS ELEVATION TO THE THRONE OF DIGNITY, MAGNIFICENCE AND GLORY.

The Emperor of Rûm had sent an ambassador to the King of Egypt; he had provided him with abundant riches and a lethal poison, in order to win over the courtiers with the former and to slay the king with the latter, so as to remove him from the government of Egypt. After this envoy of the sovereign of Rûm had entered into close familiarity with the king's table-decker and cup-bearer, he communicated his intention to them. The latter refused to second his designs, but the former was decoyed from the straight path by the quantity of gold and precious stones which he had received, and became the accomplice of the envoy. The king, however, was apprised that one of the two just-mentioned officials harboured evil intentions towards his majesty, and as it could not be ascertained who it was, the king ordered both of them to be thrown into prison until it could be discovered which of the two was guilty.

Some historians allege that on account of the king's tyranny and oppression the grandees had concocted this plan, which both the table-decker and the cup-bearer were ready to execute because of their avidity for worldly possessions. Though both of them were enemies at heart,

they nevertheless conspired together in this plot, each thinking at the same time that the time of revenging himself on his companions was at hand, and consulted with each other how and on what occasion to make use of the poison The next day, when the royal banquet took place, the cup-bearer, who was an acute and experienced individual, saw excitement circulating in the society, and presented to the king a bowl of wine, which he had been careful to guard from defilement by poison, and which he poured in a limpid state like the water of immortality into the goblet of joviality; but when the king was in the act of taking the beverage from his hand, the table-decker exclaimed: 'Beware, O king! take not the cup, for it is life-destroying, and not joy-increasing.' The king therefore ordered the cup-bearer to swallow the draught himself. The man obeyed, felt no evil effect, and said: 'As my innocence is evident, and I have been accused of treachery, I request that the table-decker's fidelity be tried by causing him to taste of this food which he has prepared.' The table-decker, having been ordered to partake of the food, refused, which convinced the king that it was poisoned, so that his wrath was incensed and he threw them both into prison. When they entered that place of melancholy and captivity, they forgot the intimacy they had enjoyed in the king's company by associating with the moon-faced Kana'-anite whom Zuleikha had surnamed the Hebrew slave; and perceiving that Yusuf was the comforter of the prisoners and interpreted their dreams, they consulted with each other, and said. 'It is expedient for us to try this refined gold on the touchstone of experience, and for the purpose of being rescued from our doubts and misgivings we shall in all sincerity gird up the loins of service to him.' Having come to this resolution, they narrated to him their dreams, requesting him to interpret them. One of them said then to Yusuf: 'It seemed to me [in my dream] that I pressed wine [out of grapes].' And the other said: 'It appeared to me [in my dream] that I was carrying bread on my head, whereof the birds did eat Declare unto us the interpreta-

tion [of our dreams] for we perceive that thou art a beneficent person.'[208] The cup-bearer, who was a traveller on the road to salvation, said: 'In my sleep I beheld myself walking in a pleasant garden, and in an exhilarating rose-grove, when I suddenly perceived in one of its recesses three bunches of grapes I took possession of them, and preserved them for the purpose of refreshing myself, and obtained from them wine, the fumes of which were exciting and the odour rejoicing. I decanted the new wine, from which the poets of Yemen draw inspiration, into a bumper of Damascus glass, and served it up to the king, who drank it with much zest, and praised me highly.' Then the table-decker, who was standing in the corner of exclusion, approached Yusuf, and said: 'My dream is, that I came from the ordinary apartment of the king, and saw on my head three trenchers containing loaves of bread, each of which excited the jealousy of the solar orb, and of the disc of the moon. Suddenly, however, famished birds came flying towards me, and consumed the bread so that not one of them remained. I was greatly disturbed by this event, and awoke from my sleep. Now, we beseech thee to interpret these two dreams to us, and to vouchsafe to inform us of the consequences of these two visions' Yusuf, who knew that one of these two dreams was boding good, and the other evil, said. 'No food wherewith ye may be nourished shall come unto you, but I will declare unto you the interpretation thereof before it come unto you.'[209] They replied: 'This is the business of sorcerers and soothsayers, where hast thou seen them? and when hast thou learnt this trade from them?' Yusuf rejoined. 'God forbid that I should have followed such people, and that I should have learnt this science from them; but my spirit is strengthened by heavenly assistance, it is inspired by divine revelations, and this is a knowledge in which my Omnipotent Nourisher has instructed me.' When they again requested him to interpret their dreams, he refused, invited them to follow the religion of his fathers Ya'qûb,

[208] Qurân, ch xii. 36. [209] Qurân, ch. xii. 37.

Esahâq and Ebrahim, and harangued them on the unity of the Omniscient One. But when they pressed him the next time he yielded, and said: 'O companions of my captivity, the interpretation of the dream of him who gave wine to the king is, that the latter will reinstate him in his former office, but will hang the other on a gibbet, where birds will feed on the brains of his head.'

The details of the preceding interpretation are as follows: Yusuf explained to the cup-bearer that the garden which he had seen meant his livelihood the three bunches of grapes the three days during which he would still have to remain in prison, and the receiving of the cup by the king implied sanction of reinstatement in his former post. To the table-decker he said: 'The three trenchers indicate that after the expiration of three days thou wilt be removed from this place and hanged on a gallows, where thou wilt be left until the birds of the air have consumed the brains of thy head.' When the said two individuals heard these words from Yusuf, they said: 'We have dreamt no dreams at all, but have devised these words in our waking state, for the purpose of trying thee.' Yusuf replied: 'The matter is decreed concerning which ye seek to be informed,[210] nor will the command of God be altered' He also said to the cup-bearer: 'Remember me in the presence of thy lord,'[211] and requested him that on the proper occasion, when again waiting upon the king, he would inform him that the unfortunate Hebrew slave had been for a number of years confined in prison, excluded from and despairing of enjoying the pleasures of this world. The cup-bearer placed the finger of acquiescence, with Yusuf's request, upon his eyes, and when three days had elapsed, the director of the chancery of fate placed one of them upon the couch of fortune, and suspended the other upon the gibbet of perdition. The cup-bearer was again received into favour, 'but the devil caused him to forget to make mention of Yusuf unto his lord,'[212] so that he never

[210] Qurân, ch. xii. 41. [211] *Ibid.*, 42

[212] *Ibid.*, also Genesis, ch. xl. 23

remembered him. It is said that when Yusuf made his request to the cup-bearer, Jebrâil descended from the mansion of the Living Eternal one, and thus addressed Yusuf. 'God—w. n. b e—sends thee His greeting and says. Wast thou ashamed of Me that thou hast taken refuge with a mortal, and hast made one of the sons of Adam thy mediator? I swear by My glory and magnificence that I shall retain thee in prison several years more.' Yusuf asked Jebrâil: 'Will the Omnipotent Lord be pleased with me whilst I am in captivity?' Jebrâil said: 'Yes.' Yusuf continued. 'If such be the case, I do not fear the troubles and afflictions of the prison.' In some works it is related that when Jebrâil descended after the above-mentioned request [of Yusuf to the cup-bearer] and said to Yusuf: 'The Creator—whose magnificence be exalted—asks thee who has produced thee from non-existence and hast made thee the favourite of thy father,' Yusuf replied. 'The Lord God whose beneficence is universal.' Jebrâil continued: 'Who has removed from thee the reproach [and inclination] of committing sin with Zuleikha?' Yusuf said: 'The Lord Most High.' Jebrâil continued: 'The Most High says: Since thou hast confessed that I have done all this, why seekest thou intercession from a man like thyself?' This recital is confirmatory of the words of Yusuf, who said. 'Nobody ever loved me without the consequence of it bringing affliction upon me.'

According to one tradition, Yusuf remained seven years more in prison, after the expiration whereof Bin Valeed, the King of Egypt, beheld in his sleep seven fat kine issuing from the river Nile, who were followed by seven lean ones that swallowed the former without any change appearing on their bodies. He likewise beheld seven ears of corn which were beautiful and verdant, having plenty of grains on them. After these, seven withered and decayed ears appeared, which bent over the good ones and so exsiccated them that nothing of their freshness or verdure remained. When the king awoke, he was languid and melancholy, called for magicians, soothsayers, and expounders, asking

them to interpret his vision; but all of them said: 'These are confused dreams, which we cannot interpret.'[213] When the cup-bearer heard this conversation, he remembered Yusuf, and said: 'I shall procure a man who will be able to explain the vision of his majesty I will declare unto you the interpretation thereof, wherefore let me go [unto the person who will interpret it to me]'[213] The Emâm Anjum-ud-din O'mar Nashafi has expounded the above verse as follows: I shall bring information about an expounder, and I know how to set about it; therefore send me to the prison, for he is there who knows it

When the cup-bearer saw the inability of the interpreters, he represented to the king that the tentatives of these scholars were futile, and their words vain. He said that the dream of the king could not be an intricate one, because the dreams of sovereigns are undoubtedly capable of being explained. He also narrated his own and the table-decker's dream, with their interpretation by Yusuf, whose story, he said, was a long one, and he could not detail it as he ought, but he was certain of Yusuf's being of noble descent, of the family of Ebrahim, endowed with perfect beauty and adorned with pleasing manners, and that the A'ziz was inconsiderately keeping him in prison at the bidding of his wife. The king wished quickly to know the meaning of the dream, therefore he despatched the cup-bearer to the prison, who went there and said to Yusuf: 'Thou veracious one, teach us [the interpretation] of seven fat kine,' etc.,[214] related the king's dream, and said that, as the interpreters could not explain it, Yusuf was to do so, and that the cup-bearer would, on his return, narrate it, whereby they might perhaps become aware of Yusuf's value and dignity, and deliver him from prison. Yusuf said: 'The fat kine and the green ears mean abundant and fertile years, during which the inhabitants will be in comfort; on the other hand, the lean kine and the withered ears mean years of famine and distress, during which pro-

[213] Qurân, ch xii. 44, 45; Genesis, ch xli
[214] Qurân, ch. xii 46.

visions and sustenance will not be obtainable.' Yusuf continued: 'The remedy is to cultivate and to sow the ground without intermission during seven years, and to store all the grain, except what is required for food; and during the seven following years of hunger and distress, you will have to consume all you may have laid by, except a little, which you must reserve for sowing After the years of scarcity, a year will come during which the people will, by the mercy of heaven and the fertility of the earth, live in comfort and tranquillity.' When the cup-bearer returned from the prison, he related the whole interpretation to the king, who became convinced that these words were true, and that his dream had no other signification. Consequently he sent the cup-bearer to Yusuf, who explained the king's wish to meet that cypress of the garden of prophecy and liberality, and requested him to come to the king's palace; but the veracious one refused, and said: 'Return thou to the king and ask him what has become of those women who cut their hands.'

It is related, that when the prophet—u. w. b., etc.—arrived at the verse, 'Return unto thy Lord, and ask of him what was the intent of the women who cut their hands,'[215] he said: 'May Allah the magnificent and glorious pardon my brother Yusuf, but had I been in his place, I would immediately have obeyed the summons of the king, and would have come in haste.'

When the cup-bearer returned to the king, he said that Yusuf would not come out of prison until his innocence was made clear. Riân Bin Valeed was astonished at this reply, and inquired minutely into Yusuf's case. The cup-bearer informed him that Yusuf was a Hebrew slave, endowed with great beauty and intelligence, whom the A'ziz of Egypt had purchased from one Mâlek Bin Za'r. The king further asked for the reason of his captivity, about the women who had cut their hands, and why he was to make inquiries from them. Hereon the cup-bearer related the whole story of Yusuf, as he had heard it from

[215] Qurân, ch. xii. 50.

himself, which greatly astonished the king. He accordingly called for the jailer, and said: 'A youth endowed with such and such qualities is in prison, and I want to ascertain who has sent him there.' The prison-keeper replied: 'The A'ziz of Egypt has sent him to prison. He fasts during the day and prays during the night; and if various kinds of the best food be offered to him, he takes only a little, and distributes the rest among the needy.' After hearing these words, the king became extremely anxious to see Yusuf; therefore he summoned the A'ziz to his presence and examined him about Yusuf's case, as also for the reason of his captivity. The A'ziz, however, concealed the true state of the matter, for fear of losing his reputation, and said: 'I have bought this slave from Mâlek Bin Za'r, and adopted him as my son; but as he was accused of treachery, I have sent him to prison, where he still is, for that reason.' Riân then again sent the cup-bearer to the prison to bring Yusuf, but the veracious one still refused, saying. 'Though Riân be the king, it is my first duty to clear my character in the sight of the A'ziz who has purchased me, and who will become reconciled to me only after the women shall have been examined with reference to me' The cup-bearer again conveyed this message to the king, who marvelled still more, ordered the women with the cut hands to appear in his presence, who, being interrogated about Yusuf and Zuleikha, replied: 'God forbid that we should have said anything bad of him. It was a stratagem which we had concocted.' Zuleikha also confessed her guilt, saying: 'Now right has been distinguished from wrong, and truth from falsehood. I asked him to comply with my desires, and he is one of the righteous.' The nobleman's wife said: 'Now is the truth become manifest. I solicited him to lie with me, and he is one of those who speak the truth.'[216] After these words Yusuf said. 'The cause of my request was to convince the A'ziz that I have not been deceiving him in his absence, "and that Allah directeth not the plot of the deceivers. Neither do I [absolutely] justify myself, since every soul is prone unto evil."'[217]

[216] Qurân, ch. xii. 51. [217] *Ibid*, 53.

It is related that after Zuleikha had, in the presence of Riân Bin Valeed, confessed her guilt, the A'ziz of Egypt divorced her on account of this disgrace, but that Yusuf married her eighteen years later. Some say that shortly after Yusuf's liberation from prison the A'ziz died, and the veracious one entered into a matrimonial alliance with Zuleikha. It is, however, expected that—if Allah willeth—we shall describe the event of their union in a more detailed manner, as follows:

When the diploma of the innocence and purity of Yusuf—u. w. b., etc.—had become evident to Riân and to the Egyptians, the king said: 'Bring Yusuf, that I may select him for particular affairs.' Accordingly one of the courtiers went to the prison and delivered the king's message to Yusuf, who thereon politely took leave of the jailer, and wrote on the prison-door: 'This is the grave of the living, a house of mourning; a trial to the friends, and a cause of exultation to the enemies [of those who reside therein].' He bathed and purified himself, put on a costly dress, and rode on the horse of the courtier under whose care he was, to the palace of the king. When he had honoured the heaven-resembling mansion of Riân with his noble presence, and the latter had glanced at him with the courtiers, they said: 'This is the form of a spirit or an angel in the shape of a man, because none of the sons of men have ever learnt or their ears heard about one like him.' The king caused Yusuf to take a seat in an appropriate place, and after having addressed various questions to him for the purpose of ascertaining his various capacities, he found him adorned with all perfect sciences, and acquainted with secret matters. Then he said: 'I wish to hear the interpretation of my dream from thine own pearl-dropping lips.' Yusuf replied: 'If I am permitted, I shall first rehearse your majesty's dream by way of explanation, and then I shall interpret it.' Riân assented, and Yusuf spoke as follows: 'The king has seen in his dream seven fat white kine, with black eyes, green horns, and of pleasant aspect, from whose paps milk was exuding, make their appearance

on the banks of the Nile, so that their beauty and freshness excited the admiration of the king. Then the waters of the Nile became affected with an unpropitious decrease, which continued until nothing but mud remained in the bed of the river. From that mire seven black, demon-like cows issued, the abdomen of each of whom was in contact with his back.[218] And these two species of cows fell upon each other like the armies of Greece and Ethiopia, until at last the black lean kine prevailed over the white and fat ones, broke their bones, and devoured them with their flesh and blood and skins, so that no trace of them was left. The king was looking at them with astonishment, when he suddenly beheld seven green and as many black and withered ears of corn growing up from one spot, with their roots in mud and water. The king pondered that as these ears were all growing on the same spot, there ought to be some reason for the verdure and freshness of the one and for the decaying and withering state of the other set. Suddenly, however, a wind commenced to blow, which caused the green and the dry ears to become entangled with each other in a sort of combat, in consequence whereof smoke and fire issued from the dry ears, which so affected the green ones that they likewise became withered. After that the veracious one gave the interpretation of this dream, which has already been narrated above.[219]

The king exclaimed: 'By Allah! if this dream be wonderful, thy telling it without adding anything to or taking from it is still more wonderful. This is my dream, O veracious one, which thou hast interpreted in the assembly without alteration. Inform us also of the means by which the baneful effects of the misfortune that threatens us may be avoided.' Yusuf replied: The remedy in this matter is, to order all the inhabitants of Egypt to attend most carefully to their agricultural labours, and to let them know that the greatest calamities will ensue if they neglect to carry out this injunction. Your majesty ought also to

[218] This is a figure of speech for emaciation.
[219] Genesis, ch. xli.

command the middle and the higher classes to content themselves with as much of the produce as will suffice for their maintenance, and to store all the remaining grain of the following seven years in granaries, so as to preserve this from the attacks of insects.' Hearing much and similar advice which flowed from the jewel-dropping lips of the veracious one, Riân became irresolute, and said: 'To the hands of what wise and faithful individual shall I entrust the reins [*i.e.* the management] of this dangerous business? Who can issue unscathed from this important matter?' Yusuf replied: 'Appoint me to fix the revenues, and the produce to be raised during seven years, and inform every clerk and accountant that I shall examine his calculations.' Allah—w. n. b. e.—has said: 'Set me over the storehouse of the land, for I will be a skilful keeper thereof.'[220] The 'storehouses of the land'[221] mean here the places in which all the grain and produce is stored.

Riân complied with this request, eulogized Yusuf, and said: 'Who could better apply himself to the generalities and details of affairs than thyself? It is my intention henceforth to avail myself of thy advice in matters of government, and to make thee an inmate and dignitary of my house.' Then he adorned the august head of Yusuf with a golden crown, and decorated his waist with a girdle of precious jewels, as a sign of his royal bounty, and entrusted his far-seeing intellect with the execution of the above-named important affair. He also removed the A'ziz from his post, and appointed to it the Lord Yusuf. Others, however, allege that this happened after the decease of the A'ziz, because Yusuf would not accept the place during the lifetime of the latter.

In short, the veracious one commanded a spacious surface to be set apart in one of the districts of Egypt, the climate of which was temperate and free from dew There he caused buildings to be erected, high like the rampart of

[220] Qurân, ch. xii. 55. [221] *Treasuries* in Arabic.

Eskander,[222] and the summit of the pyramids. He also appointed a collector to store all the produce, excepting only that required for daily use, in the just-mentioned granaries.

When the days of prosperity and cheapness had elapsed, hard times of distress and famine arrived, the like of which the inhabitants of Egypt had never seen before, and the first individual attacked by the pangs of hunger was Rián Bin Valeed; it is said they attacked him in the middle of the night, and he exclaimed: 'O Yusuf, the hunger, the hunger!' It is said that in those days the veracious one had every day once, at noon, food prepared for the king and his servants. On that occasion he himself did not eat his fill, lest he might forget the condition of the poor and unhappy. The flames of scarcity burned so brightly that their smoke issued from the windows of the noble and the opulent, as well as from those of the poor and needy; the rich and the indigent, the healthy and the sick, were equally subject to it. Excess of hunger made people imagine that in the granary of the sky the stars were wheat which they could not reach, and in the area of Virgo, which is a sheaf of that blue plantation, they perceived the ears of corn which they could not attain The violence of the famine had satiated everyone with life, but the satiety which means appeased hunger could not be felt:

Verses: The people were so much distressed
That men became anthropophagi like wolves.
All the bread a poor man could obtain
Was the loaf of the sun in the sky.
The stranger travelling on the road
Ate his meal from the saucer of the moon.
From such bread the heart could not be at ease,
From such food the stomach could not be at peace.

In short, whatever eatables or produce the people had, they fed therewith their families during the first year; in the second they spent all their money, gold and jewels on the maintenance of their households; in the third year they purchased grain by selling all their ornaments, furniture, beds,

[222] The wall, already described before, built against Yajûj and Majûj. See page 123.

and utensils; in the fourth they sold their male and female slaves, with all the remaining cattle, to save their own lives; in the fifth they parted with all their movable and immovable property, and purchased wheat by the Saa',[223] and in this year corn became so dear that even the scales of the balances fell into disuse, nor was there any occasion for weights, as there were no loads to be weighed, and the Saa' was the only measure employed; in the sixth year the people bartered their wives and children—which are the most precious possessions of men, and the darlings of their heart—for oats and corn; in the seventh year fear for their own lives made them sell their own bodies to Yusuf in the same way as they had already before parted with all their possessions.

When dearness became again changed to cheapness, affliction to peace, and misery to comfort, Yusuf turned the face of his desire towards the king, and said: 'In these times we have established a treasury, and collected riches which kings of ancient ages were unable to accumulate despite all their power, nay, not even one tenth of them. We have, moreover, preserved all the subjects of your majesty from the famine and its hardships. But now, as times have become prosperous, it will be proper for your majesty again to restore to freedom those men who have fallen into the unhappy state of servitude, and to rejoice their grieved minds with this gift, the memory whereof will remain for ever recorded on the pages of history, and will be remembered till the day of the resurrection.' The king replied: 'I abandon the good and the bad of this affair, the tying and the knotting thereof, to thy option. The keys of judging what is wrong or right concerning my subjects have been transferred to the grasp of thy good pleasure. Arrange these matters as they ought to be, and act in the most proper way; for my approbation depends on thy opinion, and my opinion will be regulated

[223] A weight of about seven English pounds, and also a cubic measure; but Dr. Sprenger's opinion is different, which see in vol. ii., p. 57, of his *Das Leben und die Lehre des Muhammad.*

by thy approbation.' When Yusuf had obtained this permission he restored to liberty all the inhabitants of Egypt who wore the ring of slavery in their ears; he, moreover, presented them with their possessions, servants and cattle. This act of beneficence imparted new life to the country, and the inhabitants of the world learnt that a faithful treasurer is the cause of the good order and prosperity of the kingdom.

Verses: A prudent and magnanimous wazir
At all times prospers the kingdom;
He refreshes the affairs of the king,
He governs the land with wisdom.
And if there be no good wazir,
The people complain of the king;
Throne, crown, kingdom and treasure
Give no pleasure to the king, but pain to the people.
All the pomp and power are lost,
The territories suddenly get confused
Wash your hands of such a king,
Whose prime minister is an oppressor.

Record of the Proceeding of Yusuf's Brothers to Egypt, and their Adventures on that occasion.

When the state of distress and indigence had, in consequence of the security, been protracted like the story of the Lord Ya'qûb and the veracious one, and the calamity of famine had become universal, and had spread over E'râq, Arabia, and Syria, the difficulty of gaining a livelihood distressed the noble and ignoble, the rich and the poor.

Verses. The cry of distress reached its height,
Famine enters [even] through iron doors.
No, not famine, but a dragon
Both spread afflictions on all sides,
They shut upon the young and the old
The gates of joy with the bars of fate.

The tribes of the Kana'anites were likewise being drowned in the inundation of famine, and the fire of hunger scattered the dust of patience to the winds; children were unable to bear it, and females lost the veins of self-possession and restraint from their hands. In this state of confusion the sons of Ya'qûb went o their father

and represented to him the helpless condition of their progeny, and the distress of their families. Ya'qûb, the fire of whose anxiety was blazing on account of his separation from Yusuf, had gone away from his sons, and dwelt in a house, small like the eye of an ant, or the temper of a sick person. He had selected a corner, dark as the grave of sinners and the place of mourners, and this cottage he surnamed 'the abode of lamentation.' When he beheld the distress of his children, his wounds were renewed, and his sufferings became unbounded. He asked his sons, by way of consulting them, for the means of removing this calamity, and putting an end to this affliction. They replied: 'We have heard that in this year of scarcity the A'ziz of Egypt has opened the door of his granary, and erected the balance of justice Whoever brings wares to him obtains in exchange advantage [*i.e* grain]. If thou wilt give us camels, we shall separate from our families, travel to his presence, and offer him some of our goods, whereby we may possibly rescue our wives and children from misery, and restore to those weak minors, whose souls have ascended to their lips for the want of bread, their spirits and the strength of their bodies.' Though Ya'qûb was unwilling to separate from his sons, he at last, nevertheless consented to their journey to Egypt, so that every one of Yusuf's brothers, except Ebn Yâmin, mounted a camel, loaded it with goods in proportion to his wealth, and turned his face towards Egypt.[224] After performing the journey, and passing through the perils of the desert, the brothers arrived in Egypt and on a day when the grandees and nobles were present in the assembly of Yusuf, they were made happy by being allowed to approach him for the purpose of kissing his hands. They were ten handsome young men, with black eyes, of high stature, and of commanding aspect. The Egyptians were astonished when they beheld those strange figures of gigantic stature. It is related that Yusuf was sitting on the couch of dignity, and on the throne of magnificence, with a diadem set

[224] Gen., ch. xlii. 3.

in jewels on his forehead, and dressed like the King of Egypt, in robes of brocade and silk, with a golden collar on his neck. These royal garments, and the length of the time of Yusuf's separation, prevented his brothers from recognising him. They approached him respectfully, and addressed their Musalmân [*sic*] salutations to him in the Hebrew tongue, to which the veracious one responded in the same language. He also recognised them by their features and motions, 'but they knew him not.'[225] Then he asked them: 'Where are you from, how came you to this country, and what is your intention?' They replied: 'We are Nomads from Syria; the troubles and difficulties of the times have afflicted us, the rumour of thy good name has induced us to come here for the purpose of obtaining provisions.' Yusuf continued: 'You are spies: you came to find out the number of our army, and to become acquainted with our country; after that you will go to the governors of Syria and Rûm to invite them to attack us.' The brothers, however, unanimously exclaimed: 'God forbid that we should be spies! We are the descendants of prophets, and of the seed of the pure, all the ten gems of us belong to the same casket, and all these ten stars belong to the same constellation. Our ancestors were observers of the [celestial] spheres, and connoisseurs of the pure world, the prosperous degrees of the fixed stars and of the planets were evident to their luminous minds without the instrumentality of the astrolabe, and the subtleties of sciences treasured up for ages are shining in them like the sun, and perceived by their acute intellects without the trouble of study. Perhaps the narratives of the mission of the Esrâil of God, and the nobleness of the friend of God, have reached the hearing of your highness. In consequence of the liberality of the king, endowed with laudable qualities, which has in this year of famine become public, and is the theme of universal praise, the people of surrounding countries have come to this locality, and we have also travelled to this land, in order to reap great

[225] Qurân, ch. xii. 58, also Gen., ch. xlii. 8.

advantages from the spread table of his beneficence, to be rejoiced with an abundant share of his benevolence, and to save the lives of our children, companions, followers, and posterity, from the distress of famine, and the afflictions of scarcity.' Yusuf asked: 'Is your father alive or dead?' They replied: 'He is alive.' Yusuf continued: 'What kind of man is he, how is he occupied, how does he spend his time, and how many are there of you?' They said: 'Our father is an opulent man of advanced age, of the lineage of Ebrahim, the friend of God, his epithet is the Esrâil of the Divine Majesty's threshold. Having obtained the robe of patriarchal dignity and of human propensities by inheritance and by merit, he has entirely turned away his face from the society of anyone but that of the Creator of the universe. We were originally twelve brothers, but he who was the best of us in shape and virtue, and the most worthy of the prophetic dignity, went one day in our company to the desert for the purpose of diverting himself, but after he had a little while disappeared from our eyes, a wolf attacked and devoured him. As soon as our father heard this news he was utterly dismayed, and ascribed his son's destruction to the decree of fate, but as he was, in consequence of the frailty of human nature, unable by the efforts of patience to subdue the grief caused by that sad event, he has taken up his abode,

Distich Since many years, in a hut narrow—
Narrow like the mouth-piece of a lute,

and has adopted the life of a hermit. He has closed the door of intercourse with anyone, and putting on his noble stature the robe of mourning like a violet, he placed, on account of his separation from that sun-like child, his head into the tears of his own eyes like the water-lily [*i.e.* Lotus flower]:

Distich: The heart's blood rains tears from his eyes
Since that heart and eye left his arms.

The same mother whose son was thus lost, and the same conch, bore [also] another pearl:

Distich: Now the signet of that moon-faced one is put on him,
And his world-embracing eye is opened on him.'

Yusuf asked: 'What is the name of that son?' They replied: 'His name is Ebn Yâmin.' He continued: 'Why is he called thus?' They said: 'A boy who has lost his mother is named Ebn Yâmin, and when this child was born, his mother, who bore the name of Rahil, struck the drum of departure. Our father has brought him up on the milk of a nurse, and keeping that orphan-pearl in his arms, he does not expose his person to the sun, nor does he think the earth secure enough for him. From morning till evening he deplores the loss of his other son, and has made the remembrance of the latter one's beauty the associate of his imaginations. He knows no other occupation besides the wish of again beholding him, and undertakes no other business than to sport with his loveliness.' Yusuf asked 'Is there anyone in this country who might vouch for the truth of your assertions, and could bear testimony to the correctness of your genealogy?' Rubil replied: 'We are from Syria, of the religion of Islâm, we are distinguished by the nobility of our lineage; we are not conscious that things already manifest need be made known, and that pure gold requires an ignoble stone to reveal its value.' Hereupon the veracious one retained by divine inspiration the royal dignity, and taking no notice of these words, said: 'I shall not cease to speak on this point, nor withdraw my hand from this matter, until you have cleared yourselves of all suspicions, and I am convinced whether you have come to this country for mercantile or for warlike purposes. Now, when you return, it will be proper that one of you remain under the shadow of my protection until you bring your youngest brother, so that the countenance of certainty may become freed from the veil of dubiousness.' To this proposal the brethren of Yusuf assented; therefore he assigned to them a convenient habitation, and provided for all their wants with the greatest liberality. The next day the sons of Ya'qûb came to purchase wheat; Yusuf asked them for their capital, and they produced their merchandise. Then the A'ziz said: 'Our treasury is not in want of your goods, but as

you are of a noble race, and come from a long distance, you may take them to the market for the purpose of being valued, and I shall give you their equivalent in wheat.' They acted according to these orders, and their wares amounted to the price of two hundred dinârs. After three days more had elapsed, during which Yusuf entertained his brothers hospitably, he gave to every one of them one camel-load of wheat, and remitted to them the sum by which this wheat exceeded the value of their merchandise. The brothers then cast lots who should remain in Egypt, and the lot of remaining fell upon Shima'ûn.[226] This is, however contradicted in the history of Tabari, because if Yusuf had retained one of the brothers, that the others might bring Ebn Yâmin, they would have suspected that the A'ziz was himself Yusuf; but it is not hidden to the intellects of the discerning that this objection of Tabari has been refuted Allah knows best!

When Yusuf had provided his brethren with wheat, he said to them: 'Bring your youngest brother also with you,[227] that I may give also to him a camel-load of wheat. For, if you do not bring him, I shall not give you any food, nor will I admit you into my presence.' They replied: 'We shall ask our father, and shall do thy bidding.' After the brothers had left Shima'ûn, and departed to Kana'an, Yusuf forthwith invited his brother to his private palace, set apart for hospitality; entertained and comforted him every day, and enjoined his attendants to respect and honour him, but occasionally he sent him a message through an interpreter to the effect that 'The king is indisposed and sick, and his wishes must be obeyed, else I would not have subjected your family to all this inconvenience. Now, however, repose thyself for some time in our neighbourhood, until I send thee back in the company of thy brethren, in a manner the amenity whereof could not be exceeded.'

Various texts inform us that when the brothers departed, Yusuf ordered some confidants secretly to replace

226 Gen., ch. xlii. 24. 227 *Ibid.*, 20.

the goods[228] which they had brought from Kana'an into their baggage. The veracious one entertained full confidence in the upright character and honesty of his brethren, and knew when, on their return to their families and children, they would—after opening their loads and finding their wares among them—imagine that some persons had by mistake placed their goods among the wheat, and would return to Egypt, according to their perfect honesty, in order to restore what no longer belonged to them. There are, however, also other opinions current concerning this restoration of goods.

When the sons of Ya'qûb arrived in Kana'an after the termination of their journey, and were honoured by meeting the Esrâil of God, they said: 'O father, by the blessing of thy orisons and the prosperity entailed by our connection with thee, the A'ziz of Egypt has received us very honourably, has treated us with extreme kindness, and has hospitably entertained us with various dishes and beverages.' Ya'qûb listened to what they had to say, but perceiving the absence of Shima'ûn, the fire of his grief blazed up torch-like. He inquired about him, and his sons fully informed him of everything that had taken place. Then he asked: 'Why have you revealed your secret to the A'ziz?' They replied: 'Because he attributed our arrival to the intention of spying out the land, and did not cease to suspect us of evil designs, it became necessary to inform him of our lineage, and we told him that we were of the family of prophets and inspired seers.' Ya'qûb said nothing more, and when his sons commenced to open their loads they found their goods among them and said: 'O father, we had not told thee a falsehood when we mentioned the kind disposition of the A'ziz of Egypt. See, what we had given in exchange for food, we again find in our loads.' Ya'qûb then pronounced a blessing upon the A'ziz, but as Shima'ûn had not returned with his brethren, his sad mood continued, and he would not be comforted. To pacify him, his sons continued: 'Be

[228] Gen., ch. xlii 25, *money*.

no longer grieved and distressed, for the A'ziz of Egypt has retained Shima'un as hostage for Ebn Yâmin. There is no doubt that, if thou wilt send the latter with us, we shall have fulfilled the conditions imposed upon us; and if we bring our brother to Egypt, we shall obtain one more camel-load of wheat. But if thou failest to send him, the A'ziz of Egypt will not give us any more wheat, and will not feed us.' Ya'qûb, however, replied: 'I shall not send Ebn Yâmin with you to Egypt, nor do I trust your words, since your treachery and unrighteousness have become evident with reference to his brother, and have been confirmed.' They insisted, and convinced him of their probity in this demand. Then Ya'qûb said: 'I shall believe your words if you will strengthen your covenant with an oath.' The brethren assented, and immediately gave the required promise on oath. Ya'qûb accordingly consented, and said: 'God is the best keeper, He is the most merciful of the merciful.'[229] As the sons of Ya'qûb were tall like cypresses, had complexions pure like water, and perfectly symmetrical bodies, the Lord Ya'qûb received a divine inspiration, in consequence of which he ordered them, for the purpose of averting the evil eye, not to enter by one, but by various gates: 'Enter not [into the city] by one [and the same] gate, but enter by different gates.'[230] It is related that on this occasion the sons of Ya'qûb requested him to send a letter, with references concerning them, to the A'ziz. Accordingly, the dweller in the house of mourning despatched an epistle, and therewith, as a present, the turban he had inherited from Ebrahim, entrusting both to the care of Yahuda and of Ebn Yâmin, and they were to deliver them to the A'ziz. Then the sons of Esrâil took leave from the fruit of the tree of the friend of God, and turned their face towards Egypt, where they arrived after traversing the desert. They dispersed according to the injunction of their father, and gradually reached the place where Shima'un was, who continually extolled to them the hospitality and

[229] Qurân, ch. xii 64. [230] *Ibid.*, 67

great kindness of the A'ziz of Egypt, so that they spent the whole night conversing on this and similar matters:

Distich: The night elapsed, our story remained unfinished;
Is it the fault of the night that our story was long?

When it was day, and they had finished their orisons, with other religious duties, all the eleven brethren went to the palace of the A'ziz, and the veracious one was informed that those Hebrew youths had arrived, and had brought a gift of salutation from the aged Kana'anite:

Verses: For joy his spirit was exalted,
The rose of the spring laughed;
But the father's unheard message
Caused him to be very sad.

At all events, he ordered them to be received with honours, and to be seated in the place of nobility and respect. After the veracious one had welcomed the brothers and inquired about the toils of the journey, he asked concerning the circumstances of Ya'qûb—*i.e.* of him who was sitting in the corner of grief. They replied: 'Ere this he had consoled himself in his solitude with Ebn Yâmin for the loss of his other son, but now, as we are deprived of the opportunity to meet our father, we know not how he is, and how he spends his time.' Then they handed the turban of Ebrahim and the letter of Ya'qûb to the A'ziz, whereby Yusuf was highly exhilarated and rejoiced, because he knew the arrival of that gift to be the approach of the happiness of prophecy and apostleship, nor would he accept the goods brought back from Kana'an by the brothers, but, refusing to accept them, said: 'I am not in want of this merchandise.' As the meeting had been protracted to the time in which kings eat their repasts, various plates of delicious food were brought into the assembly of the A'ziz. Yusuf retired behind the curtains of dignity, and ordered the brothers to sit two at each table; but [as their number was odd], Ebn Yâmin found himself sitting alone at one table. Then he remembered his beloved brother, and the water of regret flowed from his eyes. Yusuf perceived this from behind the curtain;

fraternal love induced him to call Ebn Yâmin to his own table, and to make him his partner in the repast; he inquired about the names and circumstances of the other brothers, and said: 'O Ebn Yâmin, if thou art willing, I shall take the place of the lost Yusuf, and shall be a brother to thee.' Ebn Yâmin replied: 'Thy position is very high; but oh, how pleasant it would be if the A'ziz were related to the family of Ebrahim!' Yusuf could after these words no longer contain himself, but removed the veil [of dignity], and said: 'I am thy beloved and lost brother Yusuf; but thou must not reveal this secret to thy brethren lest they acknowledge their guilt and approach me with excuses and requests for pardon.' Ebn Yâmin was highly pleased, and said: 'I shall no more leave Egypt, for how could I after this separate myself from thee?' Yusuf said: 'I am meditating on this subject, and shall devise a very agreeable plan.' Then he ordered his officials to trea the sons of Ya'qûb with the greatest respect, and invested every one of them with a robe of honour, he also commanded, with a heart full of sadness, one of his intimate secretaries to place the private drinking-cup of the king, which was set in precious stones, clandestinely into the baggage of Ebn Yâmir.

When the brethren of Yusuf had left the city with the intention of journeying to Kana'an, a number of men overtook them, one of whom shouted: 'O company of travellers, ye are surely thieves.' The brothers of Yusuf were greatly astonished, and turning back, exclaimed: 'What say you, and what seek you?' They replied: 'We have lost the king's drinking-cup, and whoever will restore it to us, we shall give him a camel-load of wheat.' The sons of Ya'qûb said: 'We swear by God, that you know, we came not to this country with the intention to do evil, and we have not been thieves. "By God ye do well know that we come not to act corruptly in the land, neither are we thieves."'[231] They swore oaths, excused themselves, asked how the drinking-cup looked, and after it had been described to

[231] Qurân, ch. xii. 73, Gen., ch. xliv. 7.

them, they said: 'We have in this country even tied up the mouths of our camels, lest they might eat some of the standing crops of your fields, or some leaves of your trees. You are indeed accusing us of an illicit act.' The messengers of Yusuf asked: 'What shall be the punishment of him in whose baggage the drinking-cup is found?' They replied: 'Let him suffer for it who has perpetrated this treachery, and let him become the slave[232] of the owner of the stolen article.' The Egyptians first examined the luggag of Ebn Yâmin's brethren, and not finding the drinking-cup, began to search his own, in which they discovered it. When the sons of Ya'qûb perceived this, they drooped their heads for shame; then they turned towards Ebn Yâmin, and said: 'Boy, thy father is the confidant of spiritual beings and the companion of celestials. Art thou not ashamed to soil the skirts of thy innocence with the mire of a treachery like this, and to make the family of righteous people a target for the arrows of the calumnies of the impious?' Though Ebn Yâmin emphatically denied having committed the act, he was not believed, but was asked how the cup could be found among his goods if he had not put it there, and who could have done it?' Ebn Yâmin said: 'The same person has placed this cup among my goods who has clandestinely returned your merchandise.' Rubil said: 'Indeed this is so, and we do not know what jugglery the A'ziz of Egypt may have in view by these tricks, which he is secretly playing upon us.' After some expostulations, the messengers of Yusuf carried away Ebn Yâmin to his highness the A'ziz. In those times the custom of the Egyptians with reference to theft was the same as in the religion of Ebrahim, *i.e.* the thief was kept in servitude. The brothers likewise thought themselves bound to return, and accordingly made their appearance in the assembly of Yusuf, and said: 'If Ebn Yâmin be guilty of theft, his brother [Yusuf] had been guilty of theft before.'[233] It is recorded in the 'Jâmi' Aa'zim' that

[232] Gen., ch. xliv. 9.

[233] Qurân, ch. xii. 77. The theft here alluded to is by some supposed to have been the girdle mentioned before, which Yusuf had on his body when an infant.

at these words the flame of Yusuf's wrath was kindled, and that he ordered all the brothers to be punished.

There are, however, different opinions concerning the theft here ascribed to Yusuf. Some assert that the father of Rahil had a golden idol which he worshipped, but Yusuf concealed this statue when a child, and gave it to his mother Rahil to rescue her from poverty, and Labân from idolatry. Others allege that Yusuf was in the habit of secretly removing food from the table, and of distributing the same to the poor and needy. Some assert that Yusuf stole a sheep from the flock and gave it to a poor man. There are, however, various other traditions current on this subject. It is also related in the above-mentioned work, that when Yusuf ordered his brothers to be punished, they got their arms ready, and having resolved to sell their lives dearly, they drew their swords. Shima'ûn came forward the first, and said: 'O king! I shall this moment utter a shout from the terror whereof all pregnant women will immediately become subject to the travail of parturition, and will deposit their infants on the ground.' Yahuda said: 'I shall, with the force of my physical strength, tear to pieces the men-devouring lions, and shall pull out with my hands the tusks from the jaws of thy furious elephants.' The others said: 'We shall annihilate thy valorous soldiers, and the bright day will become to them as dark as the night. We shall take possession of our brother and depart to our country.' When Yusuf had become aware of their rage, he beckoned to his son Efrahim, to go to the rear of Yahuda and of Shima'ûn, and to draw his hand over their backs, because the veracious one knew that it was a peculiarity in the family of Ya'qûb, that every time when a member of it became angry, a descendant of Ebrahim was able to calm him, by smoothing his back in the way just mentioned. When the sons of Ya'qûb saw that they were thus suddenly appeased without any perceptible cause, they exclaimed, amazed 'Is any one of the descendants of Ebrahim or of the family of Ya'qûb present in this place, who was aware that by touching our bodies with his

hand, he was able to extinguish the fire of our wrath?' Then the servants of Yusuf surrounded them and made them prisoners. When they were about to take the brothers to the place of execution, Yahuda came forward and said: 'O A'ziz, it is a long time since our father, on account of the loss of one of his sons, began sitting in the corner of solitude and became a prisoner in the army of affliction and grief, tried by the calamity of separation and exclusion. If thou inflictest capital punishment upon these, his beloved sons, and retainest one in servitude, what wilt thou say, and how wilt thou excuse thyself in the day of the resurrection—when all the just and the righteous will be assembled—to Ebrahim the friend of God, to Esahâq and to Esrâil? Moreover, our father is old, and we have made a covenant with him, that we will bring his son back to him in safety, and we have taken the Absolute Sovereign to witness our bond. Now, if we are liberated and return without him, how can we look into the face of our father, and what can we answer him? We hope your highness will pardon us and take [instead of Ebn Yâmin] one of us to be your slave, whereby the purpose of your highness and also our own will be served.' Yusuf replied: 'What baseness have you perceived in me, that you suppose I would retain a free man as a slave, and take the innocent in lieu of the guilty individual? Indeed, to keep the latter is in accordance with the usage of kings and the laws of the prophets. Therefore I shall keep him and pardon your transgression. Depart ye now, therefore; consider yourselves lucky to have saved your heads, and do not put me nor yourselves to further inconvenience.'

Thus it is recorded in the history of Hâfez Abru, that although the sons of Ya'qûb made use of much flattery to liberate Ebn Yâmin, it proved to be futile. Rubil, the eldest brother, became excited, and every time he was excited the hair of his body bristled up. When he roared, those who heard him died of terror, but when one of the family of Ya'qûb smoothed his back his wrath gradually subsided. In his rage he approached Yusuf and said: 'O

A'ziz, anger has so overpowered me that one shout of mine will cause all who hear it to give up their ghosts. Be therefore so gracious as to surrender to me my brother or else I shall do something which it will be impossible to remedy.' The veracious one knew that the words of Rubil were true, therefore he cajoled him, and told his son Efrahim to go behind his uncle slyly and to place his hand on his back. When Yusuf saw that the flame of Rubil's anger was extinguished, he said: 'I shall not surrender thy brother, do thou as thou listest.' Rubil then made efforts to shout, but to his astonishment his voice refused to obey, and he said. 'It appears that there is someone of the family of Ya'qûb here, who has, by placing his hand on my back, calmed my excitement.'

From the same work we learn that on the second occasion when the [future fathers of the] tribes came to Egypt, Yusuf showed to them the deed of sale which they had made when Mâlek Bin Za'r had purchased him, and said. 'This is a Hebrew writing, which no one in Egypt is able to read; be kind enough to explain the contents thereof to me' When the sons of Ya'qûb beheld that papyrus, they saw [as it were] the book of their works, whereby they were much disturbed, and said to each other: 'How did this writing come into the hands of the A'ziz?' They neither wished to inform him of its contents, nor inclined to say that they could not read it. Accordingly they drooped their heads and remained mute.

Verses · Yusuf the veracious said: O men!
I have a writing in the Hebrew tongue,
No one is able to read it—
I shall give you much if you read it.
All knew how to read Hebrew. To please the king
They said. Bring forth the writ!
Yusuf gave them their own writing,
And all their members quaked.
They would not read the document
Nor reveal the cause of their refusal.

The above-named Hâfez relates that when the drinking-cup was found in the baggage of Ebn Yâmin he was taken prisoner, and his brothers followed him to the presence of

Yusuf in the hopes of releasing him. Yusuf took the cup, and after holding it to his ear, spoke to the assembly as follows: 'This drinking-cup says, "Ye were twelve brethren, and you have sold one of your number!"' When Ebn Yâmin heard these words he kissed the earth, and said: 'O king, ask it whether that brother is alive or not.' Yusuf then placed his hand on the cup and replied: 'It says that he is alive, and that thou wilt see him.' Ebn Yâmin continued: 'Ask it who has stolen it' Yusuf again placed his blessed hand on the cup, and said: 'The cup is angry, and says, "Why askest thou who stole me, since thou hast seen me carried out of the palace?"' When the sons of Ya'qûb despaired of being able to liberate Ebn Yâmin they departed to Kana'an, but Rubil, who had pledged himself in a covenant to the return of his brother, said: 'I will by no means depart from the land [of Egypt] until my father give me leave [to return unto him], or Allah maketh known His will to me.'[234] The brothers of Yusuf then left Egypt disappointed, arrived in Kana'an after performing the journey, and informed their father how matters stood. The dweller in the mansion of grief was again overwhelmed by feelings of melancholy, and by the desire of beholding Yusuf Now, however, he had also to deplore the loss of two of his sons, and wept so much for them that his world-embracing eyes ceased to be sensible to the impressions of light.

Distich: He bemoaned his friend so long, that
When he had no more tears he wept out his eyes.

It is said that on this occasion a relative of Ya'qûb, who was his intimate friend, had come on a visit and asked him about the cause which had bent down his cypress-like stature. Ya'qûb replied: 'The loss of Yusuf.' He again asked. 'The dust of what affliction has entered thy world-seeing eyes?' He replied: 'My longing for Ebn Yâmin has reduced me to this condition.' At that moment the following reproachful divine allocution from the Almighty reached him: 'Why hast thou complained to another besides Me,

[234] Qurân, ch. xii. 80.

and why hast thou related thy case to another besides Me? Hereupon Ya'qûb confessed his fault, and besought the Lord of Unity to pardon him. Then the following words were addressed to him: As thou hast acknowledged the justice of My assertion and thy guilt, I swear by My glory and magnificence that I shall restore to thee both thy sons in safety, and I will grant thee a long time during which you may enjoy pleasure and the society of each other.' After this Ya'qûb restrained his voice and complained no more, for fear of incurring the displeasure of the Almighty:

Verses: O my soul, thou hast cramped my heart, burnt my spirit.
I said, I will complain [but] thou hast burnt my tongue.
Thou art gone, and we gave many promises of meeting,
In hopes of which thou hast consumed me as a lamp.
I said, I will lament my separation,
But within me thou hast burnt that lamentation.

RECORD OF THE CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN YUSUF AND YA'QÛB AND THE GOING OF THE [FUTURE FATHERS OF THE] TRIBES TO EGYPT FOR THE PURPOSE OF REALIZING THEIR WISHES.

After some time had elapsed since Ebn Yâmin was separated from the Lord Ya'qûb, the latter determined to send an epistle to the A'ziz, and Fâradh, the son of Yahuda, being the most distinguished among his progeny by the gravity of his deportment and the solidity of his judgment, was summoned, and Ya'qûb dictated to him the following document: Let it be known to the A'ziz of Egypt that Allah—whose name be praised and exalted—hasafflicted the family of prophets and rulers with troubles, and has tried them with various calamities. Thus my grandfather Ebrahim was placed upon an engine with his feet tied, and projected into fire. On that occasion, however, he was patient, and Allah the most high and glorious transmuted the fire for his sake into a pleasant garden. My father Esahâq was bound, and the knife placed on his throat, but he was patient until the Most High sent a ransom in his stead, and delivered him from that affliction. I had a

son whom I considered to be the quintessence of my children; he was the apple of my eye, the darling of my heart, and the noblest of my progeny. Suddenly his brothers took him to the desert and returned to me only his blood-stained garment, assuring me that a wolf had devoured him. I had another son, who was born from the same mother with the one I had lost; his aspect consoled me when sorrow well-nigh overpowered me, and my grieved heart was pacified by his sight. Some time has elapsed since his brethren took also this latter one, and travelled with him to Egypt. On their return they informed me that as he had committed theft the A'ziz had retained him prisoner; but no one doubts that the base act of stealing can by no means be attributed to the family of prophets. In short, the purport of this missive is to inform thee that from the grief of separation, and the pain of longing for my children, the tranquillity of my heart and the light of my eyes have departed; I therefore expect thou wilt send back my imprisoned son to his despairing father, and wilt deliver an aged man from the misery of this affliction, that thou mayest obtain eternal felicity, for which I shall pray. In case, however, thou shouldst not comply with my request, I inform thee that I shall utter an imprecation, the consequences whereof will take effect upon thy progeny during seven generations, and no one will be able to remove them.'

By order of Ya'qûb, Fâradh took this epistle and departed with it to Egypt, where he arrived in a short time; and, watching his opportunity, he honoured the assembly of the veracious one at a suitable opportunity with his presence, handing the said epistle to his lordship. During the perusal of this letter tears flowed from the eyes of Yusuf He sent, however, the following reply: 'The noble letter and sublime message which thou hast written in the height of pain and grief has reached me, and informed me of the troubles and misery endured by thine excellent ancestors, as well as of the affliction suffered by thyself for the loss of thy children, dear to thee as life, and precious

as thine own eyes. But as there is no other remedy except patience, I recommend thee to suffer as thy noble forefathers have suffered, until thou art made happy by the fulfilment of thy wishes, as they also ultimately attained theirs. Farewell!' When Yusuf had finished this writing, he honoured Fâradh with exquisite civilities and numerous favours. When he dismissed him, Fâradh borrowed from the lightning its velocity, and on arriving after a brief time in Kana'an he presented the answer to his [grand]father; whereon Ya'qûb pondered for a while on the signification of the letter, and said: 'These words resemble the sayings of prophets, and of their descendants' After that Ya'qûb said to his children: 'Arise, go ye all to Egypt; inquire about your brothers, and despair not of divine mercy; for the breeze of their meeting reaches the wounded heart and the sorrowing mind through this letter.' The children of Esrâil consequently again made their preparations for the journey, and took with them such goods as they could procure, namely, wood, prepared goat-skins, dirhems, berries, green seeds, cones of fir-trees—according to different traditions—to Egypt, where they arrived after accomplishing a long and tedious journey, and were made happy by being admitted to kiss the hand of the veracious one, to whom they forthwith proffered words of petition, and said: 'O A'ziz, the family of Ya'qûb has, in consequence of the hardness of the times, fallen into the grasp of difficulty and trouble, and in consequence of the scarcity of this year of famine his children have become weary of life. Wilt thou accept the merchandise of us who are wandering in the dale of perplexity, and who are distressed by separation? And wilt thou, in the superabundance of thy bounty, condescend to bestow on us a gift [of provisions] in return for our goods?' This statement is authenticated by the word of God, as follows: 'Noble [lord], the famine is felt by us and our family, and we are come with a small sum of money, yet give unto us full measure, and bestow [corn] upon us [as] alms; for Allah rewardeth the almsgivers.'[235] After Yusuf had heard

[235] Qurân, ch. xii. 88.

the pity-exciting words of his brothers, he was no longer able to contain himself, and said to himself: 'It is not humane on my part to allow my family to be thus afflicted by the hardship and injuries of the times, whilst I am reposing in pleasure and enjoyment.' Therefore he said to them: 'Do you know what ye did to Yusuf, and unto his brother?'[236] And, throwing back the veil of his countenance, he displayed to them the verse of the clemency of the Merciful One; that is to say, he displayed to them the Qurân of his beauty. When his brethren had looked inquisitively at him, they beheld the mole which Yusuf had obtained from his grandfather and grandmother—*i.e.* from Esahâq and Sarah—*for an inheritance as his portion* of beauty, when the shares necessary for the support of life were distributed, and which the Sovereign Creator had fixed on the page of his beauty for the purpose of averting the evil eye.[237] When they beheld this mark they asked: 'Art thou really Yusuf?'[238] Because, despite of this sign, and the reproachful question he had just addressed to them, they were still doubtful in their minds how the limner of the times could have produced such a picture, and how the fascination of events could mix such a colour, that a slave belonging to an owner should have, without any connections, risen to the pomp and circumstance of royalty, and have obtained the dignity of governorship. Nor could they understand how a low person was able, from the base position of exile, to ascend to the dignity of an A'ziz of Egypt, and say: 'I am Yusuf, and this is my brother.'[239]

Yusuf being of a gentle and noble disposition, did not wait for his brothers to approach him with supplications for the pardon of their transgressions, but forestalled them, and opened his mouth with thanksgivings, saying: 'Gratitude is due to the Almighty, who has changed our separation into conjunction, and has rejoiced the sons of Esrâil by

[236] Qurân, ch. xii. 89.

[237] *A'inu-l-Kamâl*, 'the eye of perfection,' is considered to be so maleficent, that it can *not* only injure, but kill a person.

[238] Qurân, ch. xii. 90. [239] *Ibid.*

causing them to meet each other.' The brothers, who perceived the equity and compassion of Yusuf, acknowledged his virtue and said: 'By Allah! now hath Allah chosen thee above us.'[240] Yusuf considered all their deeds as undone, pardoned their offences, and besought the Lord of Glory to forgive all their crimes. He asked about the circumstances of the dweller in the house of lamentation, u. w. b, etc., and after being informed about him he turned his face towards his brethren and said: 'Take to-morrow morning my garment, which is the means of recovery for the sick, as well as the cause of safety to the separated, and rub it over the face of my father, that he may recover his eyesight.' Theologians disagree about this garment. Some say that it was one usually worn by Yusuf, whilst others allege that it was the robe inherited by Ya'qûb from the Friend [Ebrahim], which had been made into an amulet suspended from the neck of Yusuf, and according to others from his arm. At any rate, Yahuda came forward to perform this service, and said: 'This is my business, since on the first day I brought the blood-stained robe to our father, and have afflicted his fatigued heart with this grief, it is possible that the performance of this service may atone for that crime.'

Record of Yahuda's going from Egypt to Kana'an, and the Liberation of the Dweller in the House of Grief from the Misfortune of Separation.

The next morning, when the gold-clad Yusuf of the sun elevated his head from the recess of the horizon, Yahuda took the garment of Yusuf, left the city, surrendered the bridle of his journey to Kana'an into the hands of the guide of fate, and when he had arrived outside the gates, he took the garment according to the intimation received from Yusuf to that effect, when the Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—ordered the wind, who is the courier of lovers and the herald of friends, to bear the odour of

Hemistich: Yusuf's robe, that illuminates the eye,

[240] Qurân, ch. xii. 91.

from Egypt to Kana'an in less than the twinkling of an eye, and the circumstances of the case summoned the messenger of longing persons to convey the following words [to Ya'qûb]:

Distich : The smell of Yusuf's robe was lost ;
At last it is found, to abide with thee.

That very moment the lord Ya'qûb snuffed this breeze, and was by the life-imparting perfume thereof informed of the lustre of the rose-grove of meeting Yusuf. He then turned his face towards his descendants, and said: 'I hope you will not accuse me of levity and superstition, when I apprise you that this matutinal breeze has conveyed the odour of Yusuf to the olfactory organ of my mind, and that I have felt the perfume of meeting the rose-grove of his face:

Verses : Who passes, that amber odour comes ;
Who goes, that such pleasure comes?
Ya'qûb gives the news of Yusuf lost,
Perhaps a herald from Egypt to Kana'an comes.'

His children and family unanimously exclaimed:

Verses : They said · O father, thou art far mistaken.
Still with thy son's love thou art taken ,
No breeze of Yusuf has reached thy mind,
Thy heart is still in its former aberration.
God knows, since Yusuf's fate is evident,
Thou always prophesiest about Yusuf!

They said: 'By Allah! thou art in thine old mistake.'[241] After some days had elapsed, Yahuda suddenly made his appearance, brought the news of Yusuf's safety, with many greetings and salutations from the veracious one. He drew forth the garment, placed it on his father's face, who then suddenly recovered his lost sight; the light of his vision became associated with the pupil of his eye, and Ya'qûb was restored to his former sound condition. Then he asked Yahuda: 'How hast thou left Yusuf?' He replied: 'I left him reigning over kingdoms, and exalted above other men.' Ya'qûb continued: 'I do not ask about matters of dominion and government, but I want to know

[241] Qurân, ch. xii. 95.

in what faith and religion thou hast found him?' Yahuda replied: 'He is steadfast in the religion of Ebrahim, and in following thine example.' Ya'qûb continued: 'My son, thou hast so rejoiced my mind, and freed my heart from grief, that I pray to God—whose benefits are universal—that He may spare thee the hardship of separation, and may alleviate to thee the terrors of the agony of death.' Yahuda said: 'Be prepared to travel to Egypt, for I expect the courier of the veracious one to arrive very soon, with vehicles for conveying all thy descendants and family, thy cattle, slaves, and everything movable, to Egypt as soon as possible.' The next day the envoys of Yusuf made their appearance with one hundred and fifty camels of mountain-like stature and awful aspect, swift as the wind, and accustomed to travel. Each carried on its back a howdah of Kumâri [Comorin?] wood, each of the said litters being also provided with the necessary carpets and curtains. Twenty saddle-mules that equalled the morning breeze in swiftness also arrived, as well as thirty Arab horses, in comparison to whose celerity the motion of the lunar orb was considered to be but a play.

With reference to his preparation and departure, Esrâil was waiting for a divine inspiration, whereon Jebrâil hastily descended from the mansion of glory, which is the abode of the blessed and the fortunate, and brought leave for the journey to Ya'qûb, who spent three days more in preparations, and started on the fourth with his spouse Lia, the aunt of Yusuf, and with all his followers. The inhabitants of Kana'an had been for many years accustomed to listen to the gracious instructions of Esrâil, and to repose at the table of his benefits and of his mission. They despaired at not being able any longer to enjoy the happiness and blessings of his beneficent propinquity, and took affectionate leave of him, prostrating themselves near his vehicle, and touching with their foreheads the howdah in which he sat. Ya'qûb dismissed every one of them with his blessing, and implored the Boundless Giver to keep them in health, safety, and affluence, and in the ordinances of the Law.

His eyes overflowed with tears when he parted with those beloved ones, till at last they disappeared from his sight. The servant of Yusuf had at every stage provided an abundant table for the supply of Ya'qûb and his family, and when, after traversing a considerable distance, he arrived in the vicinity of Egypt, Yahuda despatched his beloved son Fâradh in advance, with the news of Ya'qûb's approach; and as soon as Yusuf was informed thereof, he asked leave from Riân Bin Valeed, to proceed in the company of his brethren from Egypt to meet his father. The king replied: 'I myself shall in this matter agree with thee and proceed in thy company, that I may in the next world participate with thee in the beneficial consequences ensuing from this good act.' Accordingly Riân ordered that on the next day the generals of the army, the grandees of the court, and the nobles of the kingdom, should in one cavalcade leave the city with him When Yusuf proceeded in full pomp to meet his noble father:

Verses : Magnificent cavaliers come forth,
Crowned heads on foot near him.
Having the hem of the sun for a mantle,
The moon the slave of his stirrup,[243]
The shouts of the victors advancing
Removed the evil eye from the universe.

When Ya'qûb beheld that multitude, he asked Yahuda whether it was not Riân Bin Valeed, the reigning monarch, who is approaching? His son replied. 'No, it is thy prosperous son, the A'ziz of Egypt, who comes to meet thee.' Hereon Ya'qûb alighted from his horse, and leaning on his son Yahuda, began to advance. Yusuf, who recognised Yahuda, perceived an aged, decrepit and stooping man walking by his side, and was convinced that it must be Ya'qûb. Therefore he, and also Riân Bin Valeed, dismounted. Yusuf overtook the king and advanced towards his father; but when he intended to begin his salutations and greetings, he was suddenly prohibited, neither is it known what moved Divine Wisdom to cause this hindrance. Then Ya'qûb addressed his beloved son, saying: 'Salutation

[243] Stirrups are still made in the form of a crescent

to thee, O remover of grief! Salutation to thee, O diminisher of travail and of vileness!' Then both embraced each other till they fainted.[243] When they recovered, Yusuf took his father's hand to lead him to the king, and Riân, being a believer in the prophetship of Ebrahim and of his house, laid his royal dignity upon the balcony of oblivion, and prostrated himself at the feet of Ya'qûb. When the children of the latter were made happy by meeting him, they confessed their sin, and requested him to beseech the Lord and pardoner of transgressions, at a moment most propitious for response to prayers, to forgive them. Then Ya'qûb made his entrance into the city in full pomp, the A'ziz conducted him with his sons to a private palace, seated him with his spouse Lia, Yusuf's aunt, on a throne, where he himself also respectfully took his place with them. On that occasion Ya'qûb, Lia, and the eleven brothers worshipped Yusuf, which was, however, a worship of salutation, and not of adoration and service. His lordship the veracious one said: 'O my father, this is the interpretation of my vision [which I saw] before.'[244] After this the A'ziz mentioned the divine blessings which ensued after his troubles, and related all his adventures to his father. Then he presented every one of his brothers with a delightful mansion in a pleasant locality, and appointed also certain revenues for them. After he had thus installed them, and had relieved his noble mind by liberally providing for them, the children of Esrâil lived in comfort and affluence, until God decreed to them what He did decree, and called them to honour.

Record of the Decease of Ya'qûb; Salutations and Greetings to Him.

After the union of Ya'qûb with Yusuf had lasted for seventeen, and according to others twenty-four years, the commissioner of death suddenly knocked at the door-ring of Ya'qûb's prosperous mansion by the decree of fate, and

[243] Genesis, ch. xlvi. 29. [244] Qurân, ch. xii. 101.

the chains of the fatal moment jingled at the entrance to his private apartment. Esrâil, being perfectly aware of his inability to elude the grasp of A'zrayil either by rest or by flight, assembled his children, made his last will, appointed Yusuf to be his executor and successor, and said: 'When I depart from this perishable to the everlasting abode, I desire to be transferred by you to the holy city of the society of Ebrahim and Esahâq, and to become a companion of the pious and of the righteous.' He had not yet finished these words, when the high-soaring Homâi of his pure spirit flew, in the company of the Cherubim of the sublime mansion, to the propinquity of the mercy of the Most Gracious One, and this unstable world was denuded and deprived of his excellent virtues and noble qualities. 'We belong to Allah, and unto him we return.'[245]

His Personal Description, Trade, Length of Mission, and his August Tomb.

He resembled Esahâq, and had a mole upon one of the cheeks of his very luminous face. He was tall and lean, sincere, long-suffering and patient, and had to endure much sorrow and grief.

He was at first engaged in keeping sheep; his children also followed the same occupation, pursuing the advantages and trades connected therewith. According to some traditions he laboured in his mission fifty, and lived one hundred and forty-seven years, but according to others he died at the age of one hundred and fifty years. Tha'alebi says that A'is [Esau] and Ya'qûb died on the same day; and that their age was exactly the same.

When Ya'qûb departed from the mansion of this world, his blessed body was, after the ceremony of shrouding it, placed in a stone-coffin, but according to another tradition in a sarcophagus of ebony, and was carried away from Egypt. The U'lamâ of the country accompanied the funeral procession to a distance of five fârsakhs, and

[245] Qurân, ch. ii. 151.

returned in the suite of Yusuf, who had entrusted the coffin to his son Efraim until it arrived in the region of Ailia, which is the resting-place of prophets, where it was buried by the side of Ebrahim and Esahâq.[246] The tradition of the 'A'râis-ut-tafsir' is that when the coffin of Ya'qûb arrived in the Holy Land the corpse of A'is also came at the same time, because these two noble brothers entered into and departed from the world at the same period. The mourners buried these two treasures and pearls in the same shell. O Allah! Bless our prophet with all the prophets and inspired messengers, and those whom they loved, and their brothers, among the witnesses and the righteous!

Record of some Miscellaneous Matters omitted in the Preceding Narrative, and also of Yusuf's Marriage with Zuleikha.

When the administration of the affairs of Egypt devolved upon Yusuf, and the A'ziz had removed the furniture of rest from the perishable to the eternal abode,[247] Riân Bin Valeed desired to make the disappointed Zuleikha happy, and proposed to Yusuf to marry her. Although protracted longing had made Zuleikha weak and lean, and her eyes had become white in her expectation of seeing Yusuf, the feathers and wings of the pea-fowl of her beauty had been broken by the hunter of love, and the tyranny of the unpropitious times had thrown the stone of separation upon her matrimonial affairs, she, nevertheless, expected and waited for a union, and was unable to sleep either day or night, on account of her desire for pleasant showers from the beneficent clouds of that moon-faced Kana'anite; and though she had [for a while] been Yusuf's enemy, she opened her mouth in praises to the Benign Sovereign, when she perceived the willingness of Yusuf to comply with the wishes her friends had expressed to him:

[246] Genesis, ch. l. 13. [247] Namely, 'when the A'ziz had died.'

Verses : *Though our lover be unkind,*
He is fixed in our heart and eye ;
If he remembers us very rarely,
Let him recollect his obligations to us.
Let not his love to us decrease,
Let not our heart be merry when he grieves.
He ought to comply with his friends,
He ought to recollect afflicted hearts.

Whilst the king was trying to bring this matter to a conclusion, and Zuleikha was hopeful, a divine inspiration arrived to the following effect : 'O veracious one, it is time for thee to assist that grief-stricken and bowed-down one, and to introduce her into thy private harem, since the banns of your marriage and the Fathehah[248] of your espousals have, by the decree of fate, been read in the heavenly assembly, and the knot of your conjunction and union has been tied. When Yusuf had been apprised of the decayed and feeble condition of Zuleikha, he implored the Lord of Glory to bestow upon her the days of youth again, and the verdure of the meadow of life :

Verses : Her dying beauty He revived,
To her spirit He gave the robe of joy,
To the dried-up river He restored water,
Which refreshed the garden of her youth ,
From her camphor the musk of Tartary arose,
From her morning the dark night arose.[249]

When the prayer of Yusuf had been responded to, the flower of the rose-garden of Zuleikha's beauty forthwith recovered its freshness ; and its stature, which had, in consequence of the decree of fate, become curved like a bow, again resembled a tall cypress by the river-side of amonity, so that after the age of forty years she turned back to eighteen. By order of the Eternal Sovereign the matrimonial knot was tied between them according to the law of the Lord Ebrahim, u. w. b. etc.—

Verses . According to the rule of the Friend, and of Ya'qûb's religion,
In a handsome manner and with lovely countenance
He married Zuleikha.
He obtained a pearl.

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[248] This is the first chapter of the Qurân, recited on all solemn occasions.

[249] These two lines mean that her gray hair became black.

After all strangers had left the palace of the A'ziz both of them entered a private apartment, and reposed on a soft couch:

Verses: They united, body and soul, in such a way,
That soul from body and body from soul did not separate.
The king strung that pearl which we cannot string,
There are many words that we cannot sing.

When the tree of Zuleikha's hopes was fertilized by the fruit of prosperity, the Lord and Creator of mankind presented her with three noble children, namely, two sons, who were called Meesha and Efrahim, and a daughter of happy presage who was surnamed Rahmat [*i.e.* Mercy]. Their progeny greatly increased in the world by the favour of God, which He bestoweth upon whom He willeth, and He is vast in His beneficence and most wise.

NOTICE ABOUT THE WITNESS OF YUSUF'S CHASTITY.

Sa'id Bin Jobeir and Zohâq state that the witness to the chastity of the veracious one was a sucking-babe and the son of Zuleikha's aunt. A'krama and Qotâda say that he was a wise and upright man, who had by his great acuteness guided the A'ziz out of the valley of confusion and had led him into the straight path. Mujâhad says that he was a courtier and confidant of the family of the A'ziz, who was at that time sitting with him at the door of the palace. Asdi states that he was the son of Zuleikha's uncle, and well known among the people as a very virtuous person. Others assert that the witness to Yusuf's chastity was the brother of the A'ziz, who was the general accountant and calculator; whilst some allege that this witness was not of the human, but of the angelic race. The opinion of two other parties is, that he was a miraculous individual created by the Almighty for the above purpose, and that he was nevermore seen again after bearing his testimony to the chastity of Yusuf. Others again imagine that the fact itself [of the garment torn in the rear] was a sufficient evidence; and it is known to intelligent readers as being alluded to also in the glorious book, where Allah says: 'A witness of

her own family bore testimony,' etc.[260] The opinions, however, enounced by theologians, and mentioned by some historians, have been recorded here. Allah knows the true state of the case best.

DEPARTURE OF THE LORD YUSUF—U. W. B., ETC.—FROM THE MANSION OF VEXATION TO THE IMPERISHABLE KINGDOM.

When Riân Bin Valeed, who had, during the lifetime of the veracious one, made a profession of the religion of Islâm and of Monotheism bade farewell to royalty and the time of his government came to an end, a wicked infidel of the sons of his uncles, Qabûs Bin Mâsab by name, ascended the throne of dominion in his stead, and ordered the customs of the Faraa'nites and of the A'mâlekites, which had during the equitable sway of Riân been blotted out from the pages of the times, to be revived. Though Yusuf —u. w. b., etc.—admonished him much, in consequence of divine inspiration, to abandon his wicked intentions, Qabûs refused, and would not believe in the prophetship of the veracious one; despite of this, however, with all his infidelity and blasphemy, he thought it incumbent upon himself to honour Yusuf, and considered the upholding of the latter's dignity to be one of the buttresses of the castle of royalty. When Yusuf despaired of Qabûs's accepting the religion of Islâm, and his vexation increased by the refusal of Qabûs, he became weary of the length of his own life, so that during a certain night, when the inhabitants of the world reposed in the tranquillity of sleep from their occupations and conversations about separation and meeting, he prayed to the Almighty, saying: 'O beneficent granter of requests, and merciful protector of Thy servants, Thou hast translated me from the affliction of the well to the happiness of dignity, and hast promoted me from the baseness of servitude to the summit of magnificence; hast illuminated my mind with the light of interpretation of dreams,

[260] Qurân, ch. xii. 26.

and hast deposited in the storehouse of my intellect the secrets of the treasure of prophecy and of inspired messengership; liberate now the bird of my soul, which has become weary of the cage of its body; send it to the rose-garden of paradise, and gather me to my fathers Ebrahim the friend, Esahâq, Esma'il, A'is, and Esrâil.' After Yusuf had become certain that this request had been granted, he assembled his brothers around himself and took solemn leave of them. He appointed Yahuda, who was most distinguished by the light of his intellect, and the nobility of his disposition, to be the ruler and governor of the children of Esrâil and of the adherents of the family of the Friend, and ordered all of them to submit to his commands and prohibitions. The children of Ya'qûb accepted Yusuf's injunctions, and asked: 'After thy decease what will be the state of the affairs of those attached to the family of the prophets in good and in bad times, in strength and in weakness?' Yusuf answered: 'Remain ye steadfast in the religion of Ebrahim, and follow your ancestors; because the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—has predestined blessings for your seed, and He will bring your affairs to the desired termination. But after my decease a despot, oppressor, tyrant, and descendant of the A'mâlekites and Qabats [Copts?], will for a short time prevail over the kingdom of Egypt, and forgetting human nature will lay claim to be worshipped as divine. The Omnipotent and Glorious Lord will tolerate these tyrants for four hundred years, during which they will reduce all the children of Esrâil to the condition of slavery; and the sign of the commencement of that calamity will be that every white chanticleer that is in the houses of the children of Esrâil will become mute and silent, nor will his voice ever be heard by the good or the bad. When the reign of that accursed deceiver will be approaching its termination, a prophet of the name of Mûsa will arise from the tribe of my brother Lavi, and in consequence of his beneficent approach the white cocks will again begin to crow. That inspired prophet will, with plain words and evident signs, discomfit that heedless turn-

coat, and will by a miracle send that wretched oppressor, indulging in blasphemous aspirations, through water to the infernal regions. You must enjoin your descendants from generation to generation that when the said prophet makes his appearance, takes the census of your numbers, and leads you all out from Egypt, to request him to take up my coffin from the tomb, and to convey it along with himself to the sepulchre of my honoured ancestors, and to bury it there.'

Verses : This he said, and moistened his eyes with tears,
And departed to another land.
Though you all may dislike this journey,
All of us will have to perform it.

Yusuf's Personal Description, Qualities, Law, Miracles, Trade, the Length of his Separation, Duration of his Life, and the Locality of his August Tomb.

He had curled ringlets, a white complexion, and a symmetrical body. His blessed eyes were large and open; when he smiled his countenance was lit up, and when he spoke rays issued from his mouth. His face is said to have resembled that of Adam, u. w. b., etc., as it had been before his fall.

He was patient and grave, an interpreter of visions, of secret matters, and of future events. He honoured and respected U'lamâ and those who are invested with the robe of dignity; he was the noble son of a noble parent. The most abundant salutations and greetings to our prophet and to him.

He followed the customs of his ancestors, and deviated by no means from them. He worked many miracles, and when he was asked for one at the time of admonishing Qabûs Bin Masâb, he prayed, whereon the leaves of a green tree, which was near the throne of the king, were transmuted into variegated silk. On another occasion a blind child was brought to him; his lordship took off the veil from the face of the infant, looked at it, and it obtained sight. Zuleikha also was, from a state of old age and

weakness, by the life-imparting breath of his lordship, restored to the freshness and vigour of youth, as has been mentioned above.

It is said that in his youth he was inclined to commerce, and had surrendered his capital to trustees who were to trade therewith for him; but when he ascended the throne of dignity he engaged in no other duties besides those of government and prophetship.

Walbi states that the time of his separation amounted to twenty-two years, A'bdullah Bin Shudub, however, says that it lasted seventy, and Sari Bin Yahia seventy-seven years. Hasan Bosri and other followers assert that it consisted of eighty years, but Salmân Pârsi,[251] and the majority of theologians—u. w. b., etc.—are of opinion that the period of the departure and separation of his lordship was forty years, and this view has obtained currency among historians.

It is related that in the Pentateuch the duration of his life is set down at one hundred and ten years.[252] Hamâm Bin Munia states that he attained the age of one hundred and seven, Muhammad Bin Esahâq one hundred and eighteen, and Tha'alebi gives him in the 'A'râis' one hundred and twenty years, which is also the opinion adopted by the chief chroniclers.

It is added that when he bade farewell to the corporeal world, his brothers took the coffin to the distance of one mile from the buildings of the city and buried it in the river Nile. As the U'lamâ, the grandees, the nobles, and the middle classes of every locality, wished to have his tomb near them, a revolt well-nigh broke out, which would have involved Egypt in trouble; accordingly, the most intelligent persons considered it suitable to inter his pure body in the Nile, so that its blessings might redound upon the high and the low, the gentle and the simple, and so that, as the in-

[251] Salmân, the Persian, was the engineer of Muhammad, who ordered a trench to be excavated for the defence of Madinah; see Qurân, ch. xxxiii. 9, *seqq.*, where some allusions to it occur. He was a convert from Zoroastrianism, and is quoted here as an authority.

[252] Genesis, ch. l. 26.

habitants of the world turn to the Ka'bah, the people of Egypt might likewise turn towards the water as the Qiblah of their aspirations. That treasure of beauty was for a long time resting at the bottom of the Nile, until Mûsa Kelim[353]—to whom be salutation and greeting—brought it out from that place and buried it in the field of the Friend, and the sepulchre of Esrâil, as shall be recorded in the narrative of Mûsa the prophet, if it pleaseth Allah the unique and the most glorious.

Record of the Tribes of Ya'qûb, u. w. b., etc.

In the verses of the Qurân, by *the tribes*, the children of Ya'qûb—u. w. b., etc.—are meant, and the majority of historians consider them to have been inspired prophets. They reckon that they were three hundred and thirteen in number, and that every one of them was engaged in guiding his progeny [into the right way]. No one, however, has written about the circumstances of the brothers of the veracious one in detail. The author of this work has searched through most of the foreign [*i.e.* not Moslem] histories, but could find nothing except the numbers of the descendants of the tribes of Ya'qûb when Mûsa, the son of E'mrân, led them out of Egypt; as much, however, as he was able to ascertain he will narrate as follows:

Rubil begat four sons, whose progeny increased so considerably that Mûsa found in the first census the number of those among them who were above twenty and under fifty years of age, to amount to sixty thousand warriors. At that time the chieftain of this tribe was called Ail Sûri, the son of Sadi.

Shâkhâr likewise begat four sons, whose descendants multiplied so that in the first census the number of men able to bear arms, between the ages of twenty and fifty years, consisted of forty-one thousand and five hundred individuals, and at the time of the enumeration the name of their chieftain was Nashil, son of Sûa'âr.

[353] Moses is also called *Kelim-Allah*, because he conversed with God.

Vân had two sons, from whom a great nation originated, which amounted in the first census to the number of sixty-two thousand six hundred soldiers. The headman of this tribe was A'ir, the son of A'mi Shadâi.

Zabâlûn had three sons, whose progeny amounted in the first census [likewise] to sixty-two thousand six hundred, and, according to some, to fifty-five thousand and four hundred warriors, besides old men and children. Their chief was at that time Allâd, the son of Hilvân.

Tha'bâli had four sons, and their seed amounted in the first census to fifty-three thousand four hundred individuals, whose headman was at that time Jyraâ', the son of A'inân.

Asheer likewise had four sons, whose number amounted at the time of the census to forty-one thousand five hundred warriors. Their chieftain was Bara'âil, the son of A'jrân.

Gad had six sons, whose descendants consisted at the time of the enumeration to forty-one thousand and six hundred and fifty men. The headman of this tribe was at that time Bâisâf, son of A'vâil.

Shima'ûn's descendants who were older than twenty and younger than fifty years amounted at that time to fifty-nine thousand three hundred men, whose ruler was Shalovi, the son of Sûri.

Yusuf—u. w. b., etc.—had two sons and one daughter, whose progeny amounted in the census to seventy thousand five hundred men. Their chieftainship was divided between Shalla', the son of A'môd, and Kamalla, the son of Hallahô.

Ebn Yâmin had thirteen children, the descendants of whom amounted in the first census to the number of thirty-five thousand and four hundred. The leader of their tribe was A'minûd.

Yahuda begat five sons, whose progeny amounted in the first census to seventy-four thousand and one hundred warriors. The government of this nation was in the family of Bakhshûn, the son of A'mâd.

Of the children of Lâvi twenty-two thousand men were

counted, the noblest of whom were Alsâgân, the son of A'rmâil, and Sanki, the son of Sûbaril, son of Shajâil; but Allah is most wise.[254]

Record of Aiûb [*i.e.* Job], the Grateful and Patient Prophet, u. w. b., etc.

Aiûb—upon whom be the blessing of the pardoning Sovereign—had for his mother one of the virtuous daughters from the chamber of innocence of Lôt the prophet. According to one tradition his father was of the children of A'is [Esau], the son of Esahâq. Muhammad Jarir-ut-Tabari has, however, rejected this tradition, and alleged that none of the children of A'is were distinguished by the previous dignity of prophetship. The spouse of Aiûb, who consoled him in his state of helplessness, is by some asserted to have been the fortunate daughter of Ya'qûb, her name being Duniah [Dinah ?]. The majority of historians, however, agree that the wife of Aiûb was Rahmat, the daughter of Efrahim, the son of Yusuf. At any rate, his lordship was distinguished by great possessions, abundant revenues, innumerable quantities of cattle, other quadrupeds, and landed property. He had numerous intelligent children, multitudes of servants and slaves. He separated himself from the population of Syria, and was constantly engaged in feeding the needy, cherishing the poor, instructing orphans, and comforting the distressed, always thanking and praising the Almighty. When the traveller across the celestial mansions [*sic*] beheld the sincerity of his adoration, and the guilelessness of his conscience in the performance of religious duties, he informed the angelic hosts, and showed the purity of his religious sentiments to the dwellers in the holy regions. The angels then besought the Lord of Magnificence, saying: 'Our God and Lord, Thou hast distinguished one of Thy servants by copious favours, and Thou hast, despite his worldly opulence, adorned his head with the crown of

[254] Conf. Exod., ch. xii. 37, and Numb., ch. xxvi. 51.

inspired messengership, and hast invested his stature with the robe of prophecy; Thou hast given him a meek heart, a free mind, and a healthy body; how should this servant not obey Thee? and how could he avoid Thy reprobation if he were to relax his duties, and to be remiss in his religious observances? If he were to spend every moment of his life in thanksgivings, he could not requite one of the blessings received from Thee! If he were to omit his duties in one single instance he would, in the opinion of all the righteous, incur the guilt of responsibility and rebellion!' When the prayers of the angels had ceased, this divine allocution reached them: 'Since you attribute his good acts and laudable deeds to his opulence and the sincerity of his religion to his riches; be ye aware that I shall take these away from him, and subject him to indigence in order to convince you how firm and constant he is in the duties of adoration and obedience.' A short time after this, Aiûb became afflicted with various troubles, and in seven days all his cattle perished, but he did not cease to pray, to fast, and to praise God even more than before.[255] On the eighth day, when his children had gone to school, an earthquake[256] took place, which so shook the house that all his sons were buried under its ruins. Their loving father, having been apprised of this dreadful accident, was distressed for some time, but taking hold of the strong cable of patience he pronounced the blessed verse: 'We belong to Allah, and unto him we shall surely return,'[257] and taking his position at the altar, he adored the Creator who has no partner. On that occasion strong heat overpowered his precious nature, and troubled his unparalleled body; at last, however, that ardour degenerated into a burning fever, and his malady increased to such a degree, that skilful physicians despaired of his recovery, and that his own family and friends shunned his company.

In some trustworthy chronicles that state of Aiûb's affairs and the beginning of his troubles are described in

[255] Job, ch. i. 21. [256] *Ibid.*, 19, 'a great wind.'
[257] Qurân, ch. ii. 151.

another way than that which has been here recorded. The princes of the realms of literature are great critics; the author of these pages, therefore, refrains from prolixity, which is disapproved by all intelligent persons, who might, from a regard for the writer of these lines, and for the hearers of these stories, say with the tongue of the circumstances:

Distich: Though a man may have the patience of Aiûb,
He cannot live as long as Nûh [to record events].

On some occasions, however, the author has lost the bridle of self-restraint from his hands, and the pen, as his pleasantly trotting courser, diverts itself by jotting down various traditions. The writer certainly believes and confidently hopes, that the enlightened and kind reader will, in conformity with the saying that 'whatever [produce] is profitable to men, they continue [to cultivate] it on the earth,' be inclined to peruse these pages in their totality, wishing that his life may be as long as that of Nûh, and that the enemies of the threshold of his dignity and station may be overtaken by the deluge of affliction, and may in the sea of exclusion be drowned by the waves of perdition Trusting that under providence, and by his own strenuous efforts, the author will be able to bring this collection of histories and biographies of exalted individuals of various countries to a prosperous conclusion, he confides in the grace of God, and proceeds as follows:

The Emâms of historians have related that in ancient times the accursed Satan ascended to heaven and conversed with the angels, offering his petitions occasionally at the palace of omnipotence, some of which were responded to. When Aiûb attained the dignity of a prophet, he also became outwardly very religious and a great almsgiver, and more so than any of his contemporaries. When Satan found no opportunity to seduce him, or to inspire him with diabolical suggestions, the flames of envy blazed up in his impure entrails, and he felt great enmity towards him. Then the exclamation reached the devil from the mysterious curtains of grandeur to the following purport: 'O accursed

one, Aiûb is my pious, sincere, and grateful servant, and thou hast no power to deceive him and to lead him astray.' Satan replied: 'O Lord, how can I touch him, and why ought not he to be grateful to Thee, despite all the wealth and prosperity which Thou hast bestowed upon him, and with all the children wherewith Thou hast rejoiced him? If Thou wilt take away what Thou hast given him, he will not adore Thee even once, and will turn away from Thy worship.'[258] Then the divine allocution came: 'O Eblis, thou hast lied, and thy surmise about one whom I have elected is false.' Satan rejoined: 'Appoint me over the children and property of Aiûb, that Thou mayest see how his obedience will be changed to rebellion.' The Omnipotent Sovereign continued: 'I appoint thee over the children and property of Aiûb.' Eblis now rejoiced, assembled his offspring and adherents, explained to them what had taken place, and ordered some of them to drown the sheep and cattle of Aiûb in water. Then he himself appeared in the guise of a shepherd, to inform Aiûb of his misfortunes. The latter, however, recognised him, and said: 'Thanks be to God, He has, by His justice, taken away from me that which He had granted to me by His bounty, and if thou hadst been with the sheep, the Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—would have annihilated thee also with them.' Satan arose disappointed and sad, returned and commanded his legions and assistants to burn the harvests, fields and meadows of Aiûb with fire. Then he assumed the shape of one of Aiûb's agents, and said to him: 'O Aiûb, thou art praying, and now the fire has devoured thy sown fields and fruit-trees, and has reduced them to ashes.' Aiûb repeated his former answer, and began to pray. Eblis returned vexed and distressed, destroyed all the [remaining] possessions of Aiûb, and informed him one by one of their loss; but Aiûb reiterated his former reply, with a melancholy countenance. Eblis, having been unsuccessful in his preceding machinations, now shook the house in which the children of Aiûb, endowed with propitious signs, were being educated, whereon

[258] Job, ch. i. 11.

it fell and destroyed them. Then he went to Aiûb and brought him the news of this catastrophe; but that noble individual placed the head of assent upon the handle of confidence and patience, and was not at all influenced by that information. Then the *stoned* Satan[250] continued: 'O my God, Aiûb knows that, instead of the children and possessions which have perished, Thou wilt make him a better reparation, and therefore he does not complain. Give me power over his body that I may act as I deem fit.' Then the exclamation arrived: 'I give thee power over his body, excepting only his tongue, audition, sight, and heart; because he needs his tongue for [uttering] prayers, his audition for hearing revelations, his sight to behold created things, and his heart for gratitude; therefore I have preserved these organs from thy power.' When Eblis was dismissed, he made his appearance in the form of a sorcerer, and breathed a wind into Aiûb's nostrils, which so heated his blessed nature that it produced the itch, in consequence whereof all his skin and flesh pealed off; but his lordship did not lament, complain, moan or manifest any signs of suffering, on this point, however, traditions differ. When the malady became chronic, and worms had commenced to infest his blessed limbs, they exhaled a great stench, so that the inhabitants made a hut outside the town in which they housed him, and after that no living being cared for him except his noble spouse Rahmat, who girded her waist of diligence and agility, and the loins of sincerity, in his service. When she had spent all she possessed to support Aiûb, and nothing remained, she hired herself out as a day-labourer, but distributed one-half of her gains in alms, hoping thereby to procure her husband's recovery, and with the other moiety she purchased food for Aiûb. Traditionalists have recorded, that every time Aiûb's spouse went out to work, the accursed Eblis obstructed her way, saying: 'It is a pity that thou shouldst,

[250] Having clandestinely approached heaven to listen to the conversation of angels, Satan was driven away by the shooting stars they hurled at him; hence one of his epithets is *rajim*, 'driven away with stones.'

with all thy beauty, be obliged to gain a livelihood by day labour, for the support of a man who has incurred the wrath of God. I am one of the principal inhabitants of Egypt, and possess untold wealth. Let alone this wretched fellow; take my advice and come with me, that I may marry thee as a true lover, and promote thee to the height of dignity and of an exalted station.' The spouse of Aiûb never lent an ear to the wicked proposals of Satan, but attended to her own affairs. In the evenings, when she returned to Aiûb, she narrated all these conversations, whereon her husband said: 'God forbid that thou shouldst go astray, because that wretch is Eblis; thou must not be deceived by his words, which are full of fraud and seduction.' The stratagems of Satan having been unsuccessful, he fell upon the trick of doctoring, and met Rahmat on the road to examine her on the origin and continuance of her husband's disease, and said: 'As the sickness is so long, there is no doubt that the eating of pork and the drinking of wine will remedy it.'[200] The wife of Aiûb, who actually believed that by these means her husband might regain his health, accordingly purchased that day from her earnings some wine and hog's flesh, brought the two articles to Aiûb, and narrated to him how she had met a skilful physician who had given her this advice. Aiûb, however, who suspected the whole stratagem, blamed her, and said: 'Have I not, ere this, told thee that he is Eblis the stoned? Knowest thou not that pig's flesh and the juice of the grape are prohibited to all prophets, and that the transgression of this command is one of the greatest sins? I swear by Allah that I shall give thee a sound beating when I get well, to punish thee for this act!'

It is recorded in the history of Hâfez Abrû, that one day the wife of Aiûb went in search of food, but was refused at all the houses where she asked, and returned disappointed. Satan, however, met her on the road in the shape of a

[200] This advice was of course criminal for a Moslem; but we have seen that Job was even made to quote the Qurân like a Muhammadan, in footnote 257.

woman with short hair, and said to her: 'Give me both thy side-locks and I shall do thee a favour, in consequence whereof thou wilt be enabled to provide for the wants of Aiûb.' Necessity having forced the poor woman to comply, she received a little money for her ringlets, and purchased some food for her husband. Eblis, however, had preceded her, and said to Aiûb: 'Thy wife has been taken in an improper act, and both her curls have been cut off.' Hearing this, Aiûb swore an oath that after his recovery from this malady he would strike his wife one hundred blows with a stick.

It is related that the unfortunate Rahmat, though greatly distressed at the crime imputed to her by Satan, and by the oath of her husband also, nevertheless continued to serve and to comfort him. Aiûb was also in the highest degree patient under his trials and never ceased to worship God, so that the dwellers in the regions of purity, as well as the inhabitants of this nether world, were equally awed by his long-suffering:

Verses: Do not look for rest in the fields of time,
Do not ask for comfort in this world.
Thy pains appear, and will be relieved;
Thy patience is thy surety; ask not for remedies.

When the accursed Eblis perceived this state of affairs, he became still more inflamed with envy and hatred. He knew not how to effect his purpose, therefore he assumed an extraordinary shape, and said to the inhabitants of that region: 'Be it known unto you that I am one of the angels dwelling in the fourth heaven. Listen to me, I shall inform you of an important matter: Aiûb had formerly been a prophet of Allah, and one who approached the mansion of grandeur; the Almighty's wrath, however, became incensed against him, and his name was expunged from the volume of inspired messengers. Do you, therefore, expel him from this country, lest you also incur the displeasure of God.' After Eblis had rehearsed tales like this, he disappeared; Rahmat reported them to Aiûb, who forgot his malady and trouble, but turned in the height of

his agony to the Qiblah of prayer, and cried unto his Lord, saying: 'Verily evil hath afflicted me, but Thou art the most merciful of those who show mercy.'[261]

Historians have broached various opinions about the oath of Aiûb, and his promise to strike Rahmat one hundred blows with a stick, and have discussed them at length in their books.

When the disease had left Aiûb and he had recovered his health, Jebrâil the faithful descended, and first conversed about the machinations which the accursed one had planned; then he congratulated Aiûb on the health of his body and safety of his circumstances, took hold of his hand, pulling him out of his place, and said: 'Strike the earth with thy foot.'[262] Aiûb accordingly moved his right foot, and every worm that was on his body fell down, whereon under his foot a spring of water bubbled forth, in which he performed his ablutions by order of Jebrâil, in consequence whereof all the external signs of his malady disappeared from his body, which was restored to its former state of health. Then, by the advice of Jebrâil, he moved his left foot, and a fountain of cold water issued beneath it, of which he drank a little. This removed all his internal complaints and changed them into health. Jebrâil had also brought a carpet from paradise, spread it out, and both took seats thereon. Rahmat, who had gone out to purchase victuals, now returned, and not perceiving Aiûb in the arbour, she lamented and wept; then she approached Jebrâil and Aiûb, saying: 'Do you know what has become of the sick man who was in this arbour?' Jebrâil replied: 'If thou seest him thou wilt know him.' At these words Aiûb began to laugh, and Rahmat recognised him. After that he tied together one hundred tender sticks,[263] and struck his wife once with them, whereby he fulfilled the oath he had made. Then he returned to his own habitation, where the Omnipotent inscrutable one again bestowed

[261] Qurân, ch. xxi. 83. [262] *Ibid.*, ch. xxxviii. 41.
[263] Qurân, ch. xxxviii. 43: 'And we said, Take a handful [of rods] and strike [thy wife] therewith,' etc.

on him all his horses, cattle, sheep, and possessions in as great abundance as formerly. Some allege that the Lord and Reviver again resuscitated his children to life, others say that He presented him with new children. It is related that when Aiûb returned to his habitation, golden locusts rained, by order of the Creator of heaven and earth, upon his house; one of these, however, fell near the margin of the roof, and well-nigh upon the public road, therefore Aiûb took it and set it up. Some persons were astonished and perplexed by this fact; his lordship, however, knew by his sagacity that this was a blessing of God, the more of which are granted the better it is. Qotada has related in the Ma'aruf that the dwelling of Aiûb was in the country of Syria between Damascus and Ramlah, in a place called Mithnah. It was a cultivated region, and the fountain that bubbled forth under his august feet exists to this day; the sick and decrepit travel to it from all directions, and return from it cured to their habitations. During Aiûb's mission only three persons were converted by him; the remainder persisted in walking on the wrong path of error and infidelity, and even the said three individuals were at last staggered by the heaviness of his trials, and kept aloof from his society. When Aiûb recovered from his sickness, he was sent to the inhabitants of Rûm, where he accordingly went. When he had reached the term of his life and was near death, he installed Hûmal, who was the most intelligent of his children, to be his executor and successor, and ordered him to perform the funeral ceremonies.

Personal Description of Aiûb, his Qualities, Law, Miracles, Duration of his Trials, of his Life, and of his Mission.

He was tall, had black eyes, curly hair, a short neck, and a big head. He had heavy arms and legs, and his complexion was brownish.

He was just, pious, compassionate to the poor, to orphans and to widows, hospitable to strangers, and equally thankful

to God in health and in sickness, in prosperity and in affliction.

His law was like that of Ebrahim; he worked numerous miracles, one of which was that he transmuted all the wine in a company of voluptuaries into pure water.

According to the tradition of Ka'b-ullâkhbâr his trials lasted seven, and according to that of Wuhub three, but according to Anûs Bin Mâlik ten years. It is related that for seven years he remained on a dunghill, where nobody took notice of him, until at last his spouse Rahmat constructed an arbour, from the wages of her daily labour, and transferred him to it.

Some assert that his blessed life lasted ninety-three years, others only ninety, whereas the author of the 'E'qd-ul-joâhir' gives him two hundred and the 'Muntahab-ul-ma'arif' four hundred years.

His mission lasted twenty-seven years; this assertion is, however, contradictory to the tradition, according to which he is said, after his deliverance from his afflictions, to have lived yet seventy years, during which time he was engaged in calling the people to the religion of Ebrahim, and the Most High says, with reference to him 'Verily we found him a patient person, how excellent a servant [was he]'[204]

RECORD OF THE LORD SHOA'IB [JETHRO], THE TEACHER OF THE PROPHETS[205]

Theologians differ whether Shoa'ib was a descendant of Ebrahim or of Sâlah. Some assert that his mother was of the progeny of Lôt the prophet and that her name was Mika. Shoa'ib was a great and eloquent prophet, according to some opinions he had been sent to guide and to direct the inhabitants of a country called Madian, and according to others he was sent to two nations, namely, to Madian and to the people of Aika; others, again, assert that these

[204] Qurân, ch xxxviii 43, 44.
[205] This was Jethro, the father-in-law of Moses, as will appear further on.

two mean one and the same people, who were idolaters, and considered highway robbery and the making of false coins allowable occupations. Shoa'ib admonished those people not to commit illicit acts, and invited them to follow the religion of Ebrahim. A part of them, who were endowed with discernment and adorned by knowledge, followed his advice and selected the right religion, but another portion of them, who were predestined to eternal misery, persevered in their errors and desisted not from their former deeds and occupations. When the rumour of his mission spread, the inhabitants of Syria became desirous to see him, and flocked from all directions around his lordship. His adversaries, however, who perceived this, sat on the roads and dissuaded the people from associating with or following him. Shoa'ib then reproached his enemies as follows: 'O people, since ye have, in your errors, gone astray in the valley of perdition, so that the advice of preachers and admonitions of prophets make no impression upon you, why do you hinder others? How are you heaping error upon errors, and why are you not warned by the events of past ages, and by [the chastisements that overtook] former nations? Why do not you consider the fate of the people of Nûh, of Hûd, and of Lôt? Fear the vengeance of God, listen attentively to His commands, lest He make you taste the same [bitter] draught which ancient nations have swallowed, and ye lose your own souls in the regions of hell!' They stretched forth the tongue of loquacity, and said to Shoa'ib: 'As we are rich and powerful in all kinds of property, why wouldst thou injure us by meddling with thy commands [to interfere] in the increase or diminution thereof; and as idolatry is current among us, how could we allow our relatives and clansmen to obey thee? Indeed, those who follow thee are attacked by the disease of insanity; and if, after they recover from their fits, they do not return to the religion of their forefathers and ancestors, we shall expel them with their children from this country. We manifest this leniency towards thee on account of thy consanguinity and the debility of thy

body, else we would punish thy corrupt infatuation in the se erest manner.' Shoa'ib replied: 'How could those whom the Lord of Magnificence—w. n. b. pr.—has, in the perfection of His mercy and grace, rescued from the abyss of infidelity, and has safely landed in the harbour of faith, return from the true religion to the ways of vanity? And how could they, after professing monotheism, again relapse into the folly of infidelity? "We shall surely imagine a lie against Allah, if we return unto your religion, after Allah hath delivered us from the same."[266] If you consider my relationship to you, how is it that you thrust the claim of the Lord of lords out of your sight? Now the time is near at hand when the Mighty Avenger and Supreme Ruler will, in the height of His wrath, send a great calamity upon you, when it will appear plainly who is to be saved and who is to perish.' When the time of their error, infidelity and folly had become protracted, they remembered the [threatened] punishment [only] with ridicule and sarcasm. Then Shoa'ib implored God, saying: 'O Lord, do Thou judge between us and our nation with truth, for Thou art the best judge,'[267] expecting a reply and the chastisement of that nation. The divine response arrived, followed by ardent heat during seven days and nights, increasing gradually to such an extent that those perverse people could no longer bear it in their houses, but issued from them, and driving their families and cattle before them, hastened towards the trees outside the city.

It i related, according to Ebn A'bbâs, that the Almighty sent the [burning wind] Simûm from hell to destroy those rebels, whose dwellings it warmed like hot baths, and whose fountains it caused to boil. It is said that when they had reached the open country the flesh had peeled off their feet from the heat of the soil. On that occasion a cloud made its appearance, under the shadow of which these people took refuge, but as soon as they were all assembled, fire rained from the cloud, and reduced the poor as well as the nobles of that nation to ashes. A

[266] Qurân, ch. vii., 87. [267] *Ibid.*

company of infirm persons, who had remained in the city, were conveyed into the flames of the infernal regions, when they heard the shout of Jebrâil, and the world became purified from the mire of their idolatry, as well as from the filth of their wickedness. Shoa'ib, however, and his adherents came forth in safety from the calamity, which overtook those wicked persons. 'Wherefore, when our decree came [to be executed], we delivered Shoa'ib, and those who believed with him, through our mercy.'[268]

It is related that the number of those who followed Shoa'ib amounted to one thousand and seventy individuals. After this unbelieving nation had perished, the divine mandate reached Shoa'ib to remain in Madian, and to occupy himself, in concert with those who believed, in converting the inhabitants of that country, which his lordship did, until Mûsa, the son of E'mrân—u. w. b., etc.—arrived,[269] from whom he was separated after a union of seven years and four months, and hastened to the mansions of the next world. Some allege that after separating from Mûsa, he went to the country of Mekkah, and that he dwelt there until he had performed the journey through this world and was received into the next.

Description of his Blessed Person; his Qualities, Name, and Title; his Miracles, the Duration of his Life, Mission, and [the Locality of] his August Tomb.

He had a fair complexion, was of middling stature, and towards the end of his life his eyes became so weak that he could not see. He was very eloquent, and of fluent speech; he had no equal in dialectics and disputation, and was also famous for his knowledge and ready wit. His name is Shoa'ib in Arabic, and Barût in Syriac; his blessed title was 'The Teacher of Prophets.'

[268] Qurân, ch. xi. 97.

[269] He is not to be confounded with E'mran, the supposed father of the Virgin Mary in the Qurân, ch. iii.

He worked numerous miracles, one of which was that whilst preaching to the people he once changed several stones of that country into pure brass. His law was conformable to the religion of Ebrahim, the friend [of Allah].

He was two hundred years old when his powerful soul was removed from the rule and government of life; the duration of his mission amounted to fifty years. Some assert that he was buried in Syria; others, however, assert that more probably he was interred in the holy sanctuary between the Rokam and the Muqâm.[270]

RECORD OF THOSE WHO DWELT AT RASS.[271]

Allah the Most High has said: 'Before them the people of Nûh and those who dwelt at Rass have accused the messengers of Allah of falsehood.'[272] Some historians have asserted that by these the inhabitants of Madian are meant, for whose guidance Shoa'ib had bee sent, and that Rass is the name of the well from which their cattle were drinking. Others state that the people of Rass dwelt in one of the regions of Syria, to whom the Almighty—w. n. b. pr.—had sent a prophet, but that those malefactors slew him, and threw his body into a well. Some commentators believe that these people dwelt in the country of Yamama, and became rebellious; wherefore God, whose name be blessed and exalted, sent them a prophet of the name of Hantala; but according to another tradition he is called Yasin. They accused him of falsehood, imprisoned him in a well, placed a large stone over it, and left him to perish of starvation. A black slave, however, who had believed his words, gathered some fruit and sold it. With the price of this fruit he daily purchased eatables, which he let down into the well through a chink. This he continued for two years, until the mighty Avenger annihilated those evil-doers, and ordered an angel to remove the stone, and to take out the prophet, to whom the Almighty sent

270 Both these places are close to the Ka'bah, and have already been alluded to.

271 Qurân, ch. xxv. 40. 272 *Ibid.*, 39, 40.

the revelation that the black man who had every day provided him with food would be his companion in the garden of paradise.

Record of Harûn [Aaron] and the Lord Mûsa [Moses] who spoke with Allah,[273] to whom be Greeting and Salutation.

The lord Mûsa and his brother Harûn were two of the greatest prophets, and of those near to the mansion of the Lord God the Most High and Magnificent: their high dignity is beyond all explanation, and surpasses the powers of any attempts at elucidation

The narrative about the Fara'anites of Egypt, after the decease of Yusuf the veracious, and the circumstances of the appearance of the two above-named exalted individuals, is, according to the traditions of chroniclers, as follows: When Riân, he son of Valeed, departed from this world to the next, one of the sons of his uncles, Qabûs by name, ascended the throne of royalty, and took his seat with unlimited powers upon the couch of dominion. He revived the customs of infidelity and error that had been suppressed during the government of Riân, and all the Egyptians adopted them again. When this king perceived that the children of Ya'qûb were loath to accept this blamable religion, and were unwilling to tread upon this bare road, he reduced all the children of Esrâil to slavery, telling them that they had been the servants and bondsmen of his relatives, and that they were bound to worship what his family worshipped. He considered the decease of Yusuf and of his brethren, which was [only] a necessary sequence of the limited nature of human life, as a good opportunity to increase their burdens, and to impose upon them tasks beyond their strength, so that the lives of the sons of Esrâil became during the reign of Qabûs unfortunate and miserable; and when he departed from this perishable and deceitful abode to that of wailing

[273] The expression is *Kelim-Allāh*.

and perdition, his brother the Fara'ûn [who reigned during the time] of Mûsa, surnamed Valeed Bin Masa'b, governed Egypt. At this time the white cocks, the cessation of whose crowing Yusuf had predicted, became mute. When the sons of Esrâil perceived this sign, they submitted with resigned hearts to the prolongation of the times of misery, became certain of the increase of affliction, resolved to remain patient, and tried to console each other. This Fara'ûn was entirely void of the *splendour* of divine *aid*,[274] and much more tyrannical than the preceding Fara'ûns. After he had imposed heavy tasks upon the sons of Esrâil, he compelled even their women and decrepit persons to pay tribute. During the first five years of his reign he forced the people to worship idols and to adore statues. When he saw that his authority had become paramount in all directions, he convoked an assembly, in which he raised he cry: 'I am Lord Most High!' He then invited the people of Egypt to abandon the worship of idols and statues, and to adore his own person. He congregated all the descendants of Ya'qûb and said to them: 'Worship me, and I shall deliver you from all your troubles; but if you refuse and are proud, I shall afflict you with more grievous punishments than ever.' The children of Esrâil rejected his proposal, and did not trangress the law of their fathers and ancestors. Therefore Fara'ûn employed their strong men to bring stones from the mountains, to do heavy work, to trade, and the like. The weak he compelled to work as day-labourers, and everyone was bound to deliver the wages of his day's work at sunset into the treasury; and the unfortunate labourer who failed to do so after the sun had set, had his hand fettered to his neck during one month. All the thoughts of that accursed tyrant were constantly engaged in planning new stratagems how to injure the children of Esrâil. During these times he dreamt one night

[274] Our author is so fond of a play upon words, that he uses the word Fara'un twice; the first time as a proper name, and the second in the sense of *Farr*, 'splendour,' and *a'ûn*, 'aid.'

that a fire was arriving from the direction of Syria, and that it consumed the fortified places, castles, houses, and the country of the Egyptians, leaving no traces whatever of either towns or villages. Fara'ûn quaked at the thought of the realization of his dream, awoke, and called for interpreters and soothsayers, to whom he related it; whereon they replied: 'The interpretation is, that an individual of the sons of Esrâil will be [divinely] sent, and will receive plenary powers to extirpate the Qabats.[275] He will make strenuous efforts to subvert and destroy the fortress of the reigning dynasty.' Fara'ûn therefore appointed midwives over all pregnant women, and ordered them to slay every male infant[276] who might protrude his head from the window of the invisible world. In that way innumerable children were murdered:

Distich: A hundred thousand children got their heads cut off
Until he who spoke with God became a seer.

When five years had elapsed in this manner, the plague broke out among the children of Esrâil, which carried off infinite multitudes of people. Then the Qabat inhabitants waited upon Fara'ûn to complain, that as the men of the sons of Esrâil were dying of pestilence, and their children were being killed, that nation would soon become extirpated, and all the hard and difficult work would again fall upon the Qabats. These reasons were considered valid by Fara'ûn, but in the height of his folly he ordered the children to be [alternately] killed one year, and to be spared one year. Harûn was born during a year of respite, and Mûsa—u. w. b., etc.—saw the light of the world in a year when the infants were killed.

It is said the astrologers and soothsayers had informed Fara'ûn that the promised child would come forth from the town of Eskanderia. He asked them how the event might be obviated, and they replied: 'The men of the town must be separated from the women, because we have learnt that during this night the [seed productive of the] infant

275 The Copts, *i.e.* Egyptians. 276 Exod., ch. i. 16.

will be fixed in the mother's womb.' Therefore, Fara'ûn caused heralds to proclaim the following order: 'All ye children of Esrâil must leave the city and go to the desert; for the king has pardoned your crimes, and intends to bestow upon you royal favours.' The children of Esrâil, pleased with this news, issued from the town with their young and old people. Fara'ûn himself, however, determined to proceed that night to Eskanderia, and to have connection with his spouse, Asia, the daughter of Murâhum, who was of the children of Esrâil: hoping that in this manner the blessed child of propitious advent might possibly be the offspring of his own loins. With this idea in his head, taking E'mrân the father of Mûsa, who was one of his courtiers, along with him to Eskanderia, he alighted at the castle, but left E'mrân at the gate. When the night had set in, the women approached in their promenade the gate of the castle of Fara'ûn, and the mother of Mûsa happened to be among them. On that occasion E'mrân was overpowered by lust, retained his spouse, had connection with her that night, and she became pregnant with Mûsa.

Ebn A'bbâs says that not a prophet issues from the loins of his father, without his star making its appearance in the sky. After the mother of Mûsa had become pregnant, the astrologers discovered the star of his lordship the speaker [with Allah], whereon they raised a shout in the plain in which the children of Esrâil had taken up their position, and sent its reverberations to the zenith of the heavens. When Fara'ûn heard it he became terrified, went to the castle-gate and inquired of E'mrân the cause of it, asking him what noise it was? E'mrân replied: 'I think the children of Esrâil are so pleased with your kindness and favours, that they are shouting in the exuberance of their joy.' Fara'ûn now returned to his palace, but could not sleep the whole night, on account of the fear which had taken possession of him.

It is related that when the mother of Mûsa had become pregnant with that blessed child, there was a midwife

appointed over each enceinte woman, except over the mother of Mûsa, who escaped this surveillance because her interesting condition had not been discovered. When Mûsa was born, his mother summoned a carpenter to make a box, and to his inquiry for the reason she replied: 'I have had a child which died, and now I want a coffin for it.' The carpenter, who entertained suspicions, went to the slayers of the infants to make inquiries, but by [the decree of] fate his tongue refused to obey, so that he was unable to utter a single word, and despite the signs he made to these men, they were unable to understand what he wanted; accordingly they insulted and drove him away. The carpenter imagined that probably this child might be the prophet who was [predestinated] to exterminate the Qabats, whereon the casket of his heart became illuminated by the light of monotheism and of religion, so that he made a coffin, and delivered it to the mother of Mûsa. She first suckled the child, placed collyrium upon his eyes, filled the box with cotton, smeared it with liquid pitch, put Mûsa into it, and placed it in the river Nile.[277]

The arrangers of the gems of narratives have threaded the words of pearls as follows 'Fara'ûn had a daughter who was afflicted with the disease of leprosy, but the assembly of physicians informed him that this complaint would be removed by the saliva of a living being of human shape, which would make its appearance in the river Nile, during the reign of Fara'ûn The latter then spread on the banks of the Nile the surface of pomp and grandeur, and erected the dome of a palace, rising to the utmost height, like the sun and moon When the mother of Mûsa had thrown that sea of grace into the river Nile, the element of water carried the box, by the mandate of the Beneficent Sovereign, among the trees that were near the mansion of Fara'ûn. When the female attendants of Fara'ûn's daughter, who were waiting for the fulfilment of the promise made by the soothsayers, beheld that coffin, they were filled with astonishment, and carried it to the spouse of Fara'ûn. Asia

[277] Exod, ch. ii. 3.

then opened the top thereof, and perceived a light shining from it, and discovered a lovely babe sucking its own thumb. The daughter of Fara'ûn then rubbed some of the saliva of his blessed mouth on the leprous spot, and was cured of her malady. She named the infant Mûsa, because in the Hebrew language this word means water and trees [*sic*]. The Lord and changer of hearts inspired the mother and the daughter with love for Mûsa; they brought the box to Fara'ûn, in whose heart the tree of affection struck root, and emitted copious branches on his beholding the countenance of Mûsa. When the grandees of the realm heard what had happened, they said to Fara'ûn: "This is the very child which will become the cause of the destruction of thy reign, his extermination ought not to be delayed, in order that the kingdom may be preserved from perdition." The spouse of Fara'ûn, however, manifested a desire that the infant's life be spared, saying: "[This child] is a delight of the eye to me and to thee. kill him not, peradventure it may happen that he will be serviceable unto us, or we may adopt him for our own son." [278] Fara'ûn accordingly spared the life of the boy, and presented him to his foster-sister. Then Asia appointed nurses to suckle Mûsa, but he refused to take the nipple of any of them into his mouth, until he was at last given in charge of his own mother,[279] whose milk he immediately began to suck with great delight. Therefore Asia hired the mother of Mûsa for the stipend and emoluments usual in such cases, ordering her to make her appearance once every week at the castle, with that plant from the rose-grove of love.

Some assert that Mûsa was not separated from his mother more than one day and one night. It is said that after the expiration of one year, Asia conveyed Mûsa to the presence of Fara'ûn, who took him into his arms and caressed him, whereon his lordship suddenly stretched out his hand and took hold of the moustache of Fara'ûn—which act is considered extremely uncivil—pulled it with such force that he extracted a few hairs, and chuckled most joyfully.

278 Qurân, ch. xxviii. 8. 279 Exod., ch. ii. 8, 9.

Fara'ûn became enraged at this [boldness], and ordered Mûsa to be punished; but Asia, who was one of the most intelligent women in the world, said: 'O king, the acts of little ones have no weight in the scales of understanding; infants cannot be subjected to the requirements of good manners, or to chastisement for transgressing them; [nevertheless] according to my opinion the child ought to be tried, and to be punished if found guilty, or else excused.' Therefore one plate full of rubies was produced, and another filled with burning coals, for the purpose of examining Mûsa. Both the dishes having been placed before him, he was about to touch the rubies; Jebrâil, however, impeded him, and turned his hand towards the coals, one of which the child took up and placed in his mouth, so that a blister appeared on his blessed tongue. Some historians have related that Mûsa pronounced [in this trial] every letter of the alphabet, excepting only the letter *Sin*,[290] and that for this reason Fara'ûn remitted his punishment, but commanded his nurse not to bring him any more. His mother obeyed this order, and retained him till his noble age amounted to fourteen years. Then Asia took charge of him, and appointed four hundred slaves, with gold-embroidered dresses, crowns set in jewels, silver necklaces and golden belts, for the service of Mûsa, and for attending upon him whenever he went out. On account of this great pomp, all the inhabitants considered him to be the son of Fara'ûn. When he attained the age of thirty, Asia gave him in marriage to a noble Qabat lady, with whom he begat two children. On the occasion of the nuptials, as well as at the birth of the children, the usages customary with sovereigns were performed, and most of the people gave themselves up to great rejoicings and pleasures. By the help and efforts of Asia, Mûsa was day by day more confirmed on the throne of nobility and dignity, until the time of his separation from the company of Fara'ûn approached, and they were severed from each other.

[290] No doubt because *sin* is the first letter of *Sasat*, meaning punishment

Record of Mûsa's Flight from Egypt, his joining Shoa'ib, and the Circumstances of that Elected One of the Undoubted Lord.

It is related in the 'Bedâyet wa Nahâyet'[281] that Mûsa—to whom be greeting—felt, during the time of his prosperity under the protection of Fara'ûn, by reason of his consanguinity, always much sympathy for the tribes of Esrâil, and was greatly vexed at the labours and hardships wherewith the Qabats troubled them, but as he was, on account of his dread of Fara'ûn, unable to help them, he diverted himself for the purpose of dispelling the waves of melancholy which assailed him, and of relieving his mind, by occasionally walking about alone in the city and in the bazârs He happened one day to be strolling on the road when he perceived a Qabat, Qalân by name, who was one of Fara'ûn's taskmasters, wrestling with one of the sons of Esrâil. As he had a sensitive mind, and was unable to bear the sight, he stepped between the antagonists, and advised the Qabat to let go the man and to allow him to go about his own business, the Qabat, however, paid no attention to his words, and Mûsa, who could not patiently bear to see the Esrâilite injured, became angry, struck the Qabat with his hand, and sent that accursed one, by beckoning with his blessed finger, to be strung on the same cable with the denizens of hell.[282] After he had left that place the flames of his anger became appeased, and he repented of his act, because he had not yet been promoted to the dignity of a prophet, and the divine revelation to fight the infidels had not yet been promulged to him Therefore he said to himself · 'This is one of the works of Satan,' and returned to his home. The next day, when he was again walking on the same road for the purpose of ascertaining whether any people had taken notice, and were making inquiries about what had happened, he met the same Esrâilite quarrelling with another Qabat, and said to him: 'What a

[281] The celebrated history of Ebn Kathir.
[282] Exod., ch. ii 11, 12.

base wretch thou must be to quarrel every day with some-one!' He, nevertheless, approached the antagonists for the purpose of releasing the Esrâilite from the grasp of the Qabat, but as the latter had the day before witnessed the bravery of Mûsa, he angrily queried: 'Wilt thou to-day kill me as thou didst kill another man yesterday?[283] When the Qabat had uttered these words he let go his hold of the Esrâilite, and as he had heard that Fara'ûn was desirous of discovering the murderer of the Qabat for the purpose of retaliating upon him, he immediately hastened to Fara'ûn with his information. At this news the chain of Fara'ûn's intention to destroy Mûsa, which had long been uppermost in his mind, was set in motion. In order to avoid the importunities of Asia, which she set on foot to intercede for Mûsa, he caused her to connive in the judgment, and commanded Mûsa to be brought forward so that he might, after hearing testimonies and witnesses, uproot the tree of his existence. It is said that the carpenter who had made the box for Mûsa came to inform him of what was in store for him. Mûsa accordingly fled from the city without any preparations or stores, turned his face towards the desert, travelled seven days and nights, supported himself on grass and greens, and, uncertain where he was going, he arrived near the well of Madian, which was deep, like the meditations of sages, and penetrating, like the thoughts of the intelligent. Near the well there was a tree, lifting its head to the cupola of Orion. The top of the said well was covered by a stone, to remove which the strength of forty men was required. When his lordship the speaker [with Allah] had remained for some time in that locality, he saw a crowd of herdsmen arriving with innumerable sheep and uncounted cattle from all parts of the desert, and hustling each other near the well, except two females, who halted at a distance with some sheep The shepherds watered their flocks, and having replaced the stone on the top of the well, cared not for those maidens and their sheep, but went away. Mûsa pitied the females,

[283] Exod., ch ii. 14.

and on interrogating them, these two daughters of Shoa'ib explained their circumstances to him, and said: 'It is our custom to use every day the remnant of the water left by the flocks of those men, to quench the thirst of our sheep, and then to go home; to-day, however, there is no surplus left.' Mûsa was touched by this recital, lifted the stone from the well and threw it to a distance, drew up a bucket from the well which forty men were unable to pull up, and which had been left therein; after watering the sheep he replaced it, took up his position under the above-mentioned tree, and occupied himself with addressing his prayers to the omnipotent Granter of requests.

The author of the 'A'in-ullâkhbâr' states that when the daughters of Shoa'ib returned to their domicile, they reported to their father what had taken place, and also mentioned the athletic strength of Mûsa. Shoa'ib desired to make his acquaintance, and sent his eldest daughter in search of him. Mûsa complied, and turned his face towards the habitation of Shoa'ib. When he had entered the house of the latter, Shoa'ib considered the arrival of Mûsa as a favour, made various inquiries of him, and, after being informed of his circumstances and descent, he congratulated him on having been delivered from the tyranny and grasp of his oppressors, and discharged towards him all the duties of hospitality, so that Mûsa—u. w b., etc.—was delivered from the misery and trouble of hunger and distress. After Shoa'ib had comforted Mûsa, he prognosticated great happiness from connection with him; therefore he invited him to marry his handsomest daughter, on condition that he would serve for her during seven years. Mûsa assented with great pleasure, because he knew that the shepherd of Vâdi Aimen would attain his desire by complying with the wish of Shoa'ib.

Some historians have related—after Ebn A'bbâs, u. w. b., etc.—that Shoa'ib kept in his house staffs of the prophets which amounted to seventy in number. Among these staffs there was one with a head of myrtle-wood; it was ten cubits long, and had been brought from paradise by Adam

the pure, u. w. b., etc.; and Shoa'ib knew that it would belong to a prophet of the sons of Esrâil, with whom the Lord and Omnipotent Nourisher was going to converse. Ka'b-ullâkhbâr states that the staff of Mûsa was made of a kind of bramble, which is, according to his opinion, a kind of tree that had grown before any other trees on the banks of rivers.[284] In short, as Mûsa had agreed to pasture the sheep, Shoa'ib recommended him to take one of those staffs, and to use it when guarding them. When Mûsa was about to start for the pasture, he intended to take a staff, and the above-mentioned one having [spontaneously] approached him, his lordship the speaker [with Allah] took it and departed. Shoa'ib, whose eyes had become weak, felt that staff with his blessed hand, saying: 'O Mûsa, leave this staff, and take another.' Mûsa returned seven times to the house, but was, despite all his efforts, unable to lay hand on another, except on that same staff. By this strange event Shoa'ib was apprised that Mûsa would put on the robe of prophecy, and would be exalted to the favour of speaking with God. After that he recommended Mûsa not to neglect his staff, because he would see it perform a wonderful thing. Many of the principal historians have explained the falling of the staff into Mûsa's hands when he returned in another manner, which will be narrated below.

RECORD OF THE RETURN OF MUSA—U. W. B., ETC.—FROM MADIAN, AND HIS BEING EXALTED TO THE DIGNITY OF PROPHECY.

After Mûsa had been a shepherd during seven years, Shoa'ib gave him his daughter Safura in marriage; and after having placed Shoa'ib under obligations by serving him two years more, his lordship wished to depart, and his request was complied with. It is related that before the arrival of the speaker with God [*i.e.* Moses], an angel in the guise of a man had visited Shoa'ib, and had entrusted a

[284] The text has *A'vsaj*, which is, according to the dictionaries, not a tree, but a thistle and a bramble.

staff to his keeping, which his lordship the teacher of prophets [*i.e.* Jethro] accepted, and, as is customary with things entrusted for keeping, deposited and kept it with his own staffs. On the occasion of Mûsa's departure, Shoa'ib told him to go into the house and to take a staff. His lordship did as he was bid, and accidentally the staff entrusted to Shoa'ib fell into his hands. This Shoa'ib discovered by touch, and said: 'O Mûsa, leave the staff in its place, because it is the deposit of another; and take a different one instead.' Mûsa returned to the house and replaced it; but when he stretched forth his hand to take another, the same staff again fell into his grasp. He informed Shoa'ib of this, who said: 'Apparently thou art more entitled and worthier to possess it [than the person who brought it]. Arise, and go in peace.' Mûsa accordingly departed with his wife and family, sheep, and property from Madian to Egypt; but as soon as Mûsa had gone, Shoa'ib considered himself guilty for having surrendered the deposit, and repented of having given away the staff to Mûsa, after whom he immediately hastened, and when he had overtaken him he asked for the staff. Mûsa, however, refused to surrender it, and the affair ended in a quarrel, during which an angel in the guise of a man made his appearance for the purpose of judging between them, and said: 'Mûsa, throw the staff on the ground, and whoever takes it up may keep it.' Both agreed to this condition. His lordship the speaker [with Allah] threw the staff down, and though Shoa'ib made numerous efforts take it up, he was unable to do so. After that Mûsa stretched out his hand, grasped the staff, and departed. He then travelled five days, and arrived the sixth night in the valley of Mount Sinai There he beheld numerous dark clouds heaped up in the air, which was very cold. He necessarily stopped, and ordered his wife to kindle a fire for the purpose of warming themselves. She made numerous efforts to produce a spark from steel and flint, but was unsuccessful. Mûsa, being greatly astonished at this, placed the head of wonder upon the knee of meditation; then he looked towards the desert, and perceived a

mighty glare in the direction of Mount Sinai. He was certain that this must be fire, took up his staff, enjoined his companions to remain where they were, and hastened towards the spot, as Allah the Most High said: 'And he spoke to his family: Tarry ye [here], for I see fire; peradventure I may bring you hence some tidings [of the way, or at least] a brand out of the fire.'[285]

As the poet beautifully said:

Verses: Grant a drop; for to the tavern of the beneficent
Every champion comes with a request.
There is no one who has not business in Thy house.
Every one goes there from desire.
Not only I rejoice at the fire of Vâdi Aimen.
Mûsa comes here with hopes of [obtaining] a brand.[286]

Some historians have stated that when the Lord Mûsa went to Mount Sinai, and was invested with the robe of prophecy, he was forty-nine years and thirty-seven days old; but according to the tradition of theologians he was seventy-nine years and seven days old, so that the two statements differ.

It is said that the distance from the place where Mûsa was, to that where he perceived the glare of fire, amounted to twelve farsakhs, and when by his spiritual perfection he approached that light he perceived a large fire ascending to the zenith from the branches and twigs of green trees without the accompaniment of smoke. The fire increased by degrees more and more, as well as the verdure and the brilliancy of the trees. Mûsa was awed, contemplated for some time the burning green trees, and knew not how he might obtain possession of some of that fire. At last he tied several small sticks into a bundle, by means of which he hoped to attain his object, and to return with fire to his domicile; but when he approached the tree the fire receded from him, and mounted to the upper part of the branches. Mûsa despaired at last, and intended to return without having executed his intention. Then the fire inclined towards him, but when he came near it again retreated. This having occurred several times, Mûsa became sad and melancholy; thereon a voice struck his ears, the like of

285 Qurân, ch. xxviii. 29. 286 This is a Sûfi effusion.

which he had never heard before, and the words were: 'O Mûsa!' His lordship, the speaker [with Allah], replied: 'I wait Thy commands.' He looked to the right and could see no one, but after the above explanation had been thrice repeated, Mûsa asked: 'Who art Thou whose voice I hear, but whom I cannot see?' Then the response came: 'I am Allah, the Lord of both worlds; I am thy Lord, O Mûsa.' His lordship, the speaker [with Allah], then prostrated himself for adoration and asked: 'My God, is this Thy voice, or the voice of Thy messenger?' Then the allocution arrived: 'The words are My words, and the light is My light; I am the Omnipotent Nourisher of the inhabitants of the world. Come near, O Mûsa.' These words filled the speaker [to Allah] with terror, his limbs quaked, and his tongue refused to move, the bird of his intellect flew out of the cage of his brains, and only after the greatest efforts he was enabled to rise by the aid of his staff. The all-powerful Lord then sent an angel, by whose assistance he might approach the tree, but when he desired to come nearer he heard the words: 'Verily I am thy Lord; pull off thy shoes, for thou art in the sacred valley'[287] It would appear strange that the merciful and clement Lord should have ordered the speaker [to Allah] to take off his shoes, but as they must have been dusty from his travels, and as the place was holy, this was an intimation that whenever man obtains certainty, he ought to divest himself of all external attributes, and confessing his own nullity, ought entirely to abandon himself to the true amity of the Omnipotent Lord—

Verses: But how could words describe the feeling of His grace?
Words travel wonderfully swift
I fear lest I may lose the reins.

Those acquainted with the mystic sciences are well aware that theological discussions like the above do not belong to the province of history. Commentators and expounders have written much concerning the removal of the sandals, and we refer the reader to their works.

[287] Exod., ch. iii. 5.

When Mûsa was at the sanctuary of Mount Sinai, and became a testimony to the regard of the true Witness, he was liberated from his metaphorical ordinances, and the Master of His own work [*i.e.* of the universe], and Sovereign of the regions of existence, made him partake of His graces and favours, invested him with the robe of prophecy, and decorated him with the ornaments of sciences and knowledge. The Most Glorious and Magnificent has said: 'I have selected thee to be My distributor, etc.' When He intended to send Mûsa to reform the deficient, and to appoint him a messenger to Fara'ûn and his followers, He bestowed upon him evident signs and clear miracles; enabled his penetrating mind to appreciate them, and accustomed his enlightened intellect to behold them. It is related that with reference to the production of the miracle with the staff, God--w. n. b. pr.—asked Mûsa, for the purpose of emboldening him to speak · 'What is that in thy right hand, O Mûsa?' His lordship replied: 'This is my staff on which I lean, and with which I obtain leaves from trees for my sheep, and it has also other uses to me.'

Ebn A'bbâs has enumerated several properties of the staff of Mûsa, many of which manifested themselves after he had received his mission; some, however, will now be described as follows. The first is that he loaded some of his baggage upon that staff, which followed him in his travels like an animal, and conversed with him like a man. Secondly, when he was hungry he struck the staff on the ground, and a sufficiency of victuals for one day's consumption issued from the soil. Whenever he wanted any fruit he planted the staff into the earth, whereon it immediately became green, shot forth branches, and bore the desired fruit. Another peculiarity of this staff was that when he stood in need of water he let it down into any well, like a bucket, whereon it became long enough to reach the water, assumed the form of a pail, and was filled. Another of its properties was that in the night it emitted light, like a torch. Another was that in the presence of an enemy there was no need for the Lord Mûsa to fight, because the staff

attacked his antagonist spontaneously; and, as Mûsa was not aware of its property of becoming a dragon, he was ordered to throw it on the ground, whereon it became suddenly transformed into a terrible serpent,[288] whose ugly form began to move in all directions, and so disquieted Mûsa that he fled, whereupon the allocution reached him: 'Take it, and be not afraid of it, for it will assume its first shape.' Mûsa was so frightened that he touched the dragon with the sleeve of his woollen garment, whereon he heard the words: 'O Mûsa, perhaps thy sleeve is a remover of the calamity of serpents?' Mûsa replied: 'No, O Lord; but I am a weak person, begotten by another weak individual.' Then the Omnipotent Inscrutable One followed up this prodigy by another, for the purpose of tranquillizing the apprehensions of Mûsa. This was the light which shone forth from the palm of His blessed hand, so that the twinkling of the stars and the shining of the moon were nothing in comparison therewith; nay, it even surpassed the light of the sun in splendour and radiance. When the soul of Mûsa became pacified and contented by the appearance of evident and manifest prodigies, the Almighty sent him as an inspired messenger to Fara'ûn, saying: 'Go to Far'aûn, for he is a rebel.'[289] Mûsa, however, perceived by his prophetic foresight and abundant judgment that the prophetic dignity is a perilous and exalted office; therefore, he immediately opened the tongue of petition to the Lord of Magnificence, pleaded his inability and weakness, and asked for the power of utterance of eloquent rhetoric, the partnership of a wazir, the aid of a manifester, freedom of mind, the opening of his disposition, and the enlargement of his intellect. Then the allocution reached him: 'What thou hast asked is granted to thee. Thy wants are supplied, and thy brother Harûn has been exalted to the dignity of a prophet, and he will be thy partner.'[290] Mûsa again opened the mouth of request, and said: 'Lord, I have killed a man, and I fear they will murder me.' Then he heard a voice as follows: 'I have selected thee to be a messenger,

[288] Exod., ch. iv. 3. [289] *Ibid.*, ch. iii. 10. [290] *Ibid.*, ch. iv. 14.

and I have ennobled thee by My favours, be therefore of good cheer, and consider how thou wilt liberate the sons of Esràil; because Fara'ûn and the Fara'ûnites will not [be able] to overcome thee, and shall by no means injure thee. I shall cause thy brother to share thy prophecy with thee, and I shall grant to both of you [miraculous] forces.' After his lordship the speaker [to God] had received the gift of prophecy, of monotheism, and of the law with the power of working miracles, the divine revelation once more reached him in the following words: 'Go thou and thy brother to Fara'ûn and announce to him your mission, do not be negligent in the duties thereof, admonish him with gentle speeches and soft words, endeavour to rescue the children of Esràil, and advise him to withdraw the hand of tyranny from them, and to leave off oppressing them. Preach to him the upright religion, and reveal to him the straight road, inform him of the promised threats; if he accepts your advice, "Greeting to him who follows the guidance"; if he refuses to obey the divine commands or deviates from the road of salvation, then "punishment to him who accuses the messengers of God of falsehood and turns away" [will be his sentence]'

Some historians have stated, that after the Good Advocate had thus pledged Himself to patronize everything connected with Mûsa, the latter departed to Egypt for the purpose of fulfilling his mission, and that after he had ended his transactions with Fara'ûn, his family [again] met him sound and safe.

It is related by certain parties, that when Mûsa returned the next morning from Mount Sinai to his people, his wife was rejoiced at his arrival, and asked him whether he had brought fire. He replied: 'I have not brought fire, but I have brought the light of prophecy.' With reference to this circumstance, pleasant explanations, and elegant reports have been handed down by doctors, but as the verification of traditions does not pertain to the sphere of history, this mystic science is left to be pursued by those who have sufficient acuteness, skill, and inclination for it:

Verses : **What need is there to describe the love for the Friend,
Since He knows all that passes in the lover's heart.
But the heart's desire in all this is
That we may become desirous to meet Him.**

RECORD OF MÛSA'S—U. W. B. P.—ARRIVAL IN EGYPT IN CONCERT WITH HARÛN; HIS INVITING FARA'ÛN TO THE STRAIGHT PATH, AND THE PERSISTENCE OF THE LATTER IN SIN.

It is recorded in several histories, that when Mûsa approached the country of Egypt, a revelation reached Harûn, whereby he was informed of Mûsa's circumstances and ordered to hasten to meet him. Harûn accordingly made his preparations and left the city, meeting his brother on the banks of the river Nile They recognised each other, and went to Fara'ûn's palace before going to their own home The majority of historians affirm that Mûsa performed the journey, arrived in Egypt, and secretly alighting in the night at his mother's house, was not recognised by her on account of his long absence. She asked him, however, various questions, and Mûsa replied: 'I am a stranger, and have come from a distant journey. This night I shall be a guest here.' As hospitality to strangers was by the virtuous and the excellent considered to be a religious duty, the mother of Mûsa performed the office of waiting upon him, and asked Harûn to keep him company, and to converse with him. As they were talking with each other Harûn recognised Mûsa, informed his mother, and after having deplored his loss for a long time, her grief was now turned into pleasure and rejoicings. During the same night Mûsa communicated to Harûn and to the family the office with which he had been entrusted, and announced that his brother Harûn had likewise been promoted to the dignity of a prophet. All who were present listened with acquiescence to his invitation, followed it, and attained the happiness of being guided.

According to another tradition Mûsa rested himself three days from the fatigues of the journey, and from the perilous toils which he had undergone; and on the fourth day he

proceeded to invite Fara'ûn [to follow his advice]. It is related that the castle of Fara'ûn was surrounded by seventy [enclosing] walls, and that between every two walls there were villages, cultivated fields, and rivers; seventy thousand warriors were quartered there. Around the citv of Fara'ûn, where his castle was, there were also waters, trees, wild beasts, and rapacious lions. That castle had one road, by means of which the people could reach the gates of the city, and anyone who deflected from the straight path fell into the grasp of lions, furious like mad elepnants. When Mûsa arrived with Harûn at the first wall and gate they found the latter closed, Mûsa, however, struck it with his staff, whereon it flew open. This he did at all the gates, and-when they arrived near the trees where the abode of the lions was, all of them fled for fear of Mûsa and dispersed. When Mûsa arrived at the private castle of Fara'ûn, and threw tne rod of permanency upon the ground, the fear and apprehensions that the men of Fara'ûn entertained towards him hindered them for some time from venturing to inform him of the arrival of the two brothers.

Wuhub Bin Munia states that Mûsa reached the gate of the castle on the fourth of the month Zil-Hejjah, and that Fara'ûn knew nothing about him for several days. Muhammad Bin Esahâq has reported that his lordship the speaker [with God] had been two years in the castle, but that no one dared to give the news to Fara'ûn, until a man who enjoyed the post of sorcerer at his court, and had become acquainted with some of the qualities of Mûsa, asked the brothers. 'Do you know what place this is, and for what purpose you have entered it?' They replied: 'This is the castle of Fara'ûn, who is with his followers and all the inhabitants of the world, a servant of the Lord of heaven and earth. We are the ambassadors of the God of the universe to Fara'ûn' The said magician then entered the place where Fara'ûn was, and said: 'O king, to-day I have seen something wonderful, so that I forgot the calamity of the men-devouring lions.' Fara'ûn then elicited from him

also the following statement: 'I have seen two individuals at the gate of thy castle, for fear of whom the lions fled like foxes. Probably they have bewitched them, and when I conversed with these men I heard big words.' Fara'ûn then asked what these men had said, and the sorcerer continued: 'They imagine there is another God besides thee, who is the Creator of heaven and earth, as well as the Nourisher of the inhabitants of the world.' When Fara'ûn heard these words he was overpowered by rage, and forthwith summoned Mûsa and Harûn to his presence. Hâmân and the grandees of the nation were present in the assembly, but many other persons had also congregated to see what would take place When Fara'ûn had cast a glance at Mûsa, and saw a man dressed in a woollen garment, with sandals on his feet and a staff in his hand, he immediately recognised him, and asked: 'What is thy name?' He replied. 'My name is Mûsa, the son of E'mrân.' Fara'ûn rejoined: 'I do not ask thee about this' Mûsa continued: 'I am one of the servants of God, who has created me of loam, into which I shall again be transmuted at last.' Fara'ûn said: 'As to thy name and connections, it would be better for thee to confess that thou art one of my servants, and brought up by my favour, because thou hast been a long time with us, and wast educated in my house, until thou hast perpetrated what thou hast perpetrated. Thou hast, namely, killed one of my people, and hast been ungrateful. Thou hast fled from my country. After having been mean and despised, thou hast become poor and a hired servant, and now hast come pretending to be a prophet.' Mûsa replied: 'I struck the man with my fist, and knew not that the blow would be fatal to his life, consequently I am not amenable to punishment. But as thou hast, on account of thy innate aversion towards me, constantly striven to injure me, I fled for fear of thee; "and flight is not against the ordinances of inspired messengers." When I left your country, and submitted to the hardships of travel, to fear, to astonishment, and to perils, the Lord God Almighty pardoned my transgressions, and has pro-

moted me to the exalted dignity of a prophet and inspired messenger, has sent me on this mission, and has appointed Harûn, my brother, to be my partner in this matter. How canst thou upbraid me with having killed an infidel, whereas for four hundred years you have persecuted the sons of Esrâil, who are descendants of prophets, with various chastisements, and murdered them without provocation? And you have changed their lives into an existence of misery and affliction. Now, it will be thy duty to acknowledge the unity of the Lord of lords, and the truth of my prophetic office, and to abandon the sons of Esrâil to my guidance, and to let alone their affairs.' It is related that when the disputations took place between Fara'ûn and Mûsa, some of which are mentioned in the glorious Qurân, he refuted his opponent; whereon Fara'ûn said: 'O Mûsa, if thou wilt adore another besides me, and wilt serve Him, I shall imprison thee, and cause thee to despair of attaining dignity, and being saved.' Mûsa rejoined: 'How couldst thou prevail over me, since the Lord of Grandeur—w. n. b. pr—has vouchsafed me a powerful argument, and satisfactory evidence [to the contrary].' Fara'ûn continued: 'Bring, then, forth [an argument], if thou art one of the truthful.' Mûsa then threw his staff to the ground, and it became immediately a great dragon and powerful serpent, vomiting fire from its throat and smoke from its nostrils. Its eyes glared like two torches, and attracted the attention of all present. From the teeth, which it was grinding upon each other, a fearful noise issued, which made the ears of those who heard it tingle; and it was like the roar of a furious lion. Whatever this monster encountered it broke, whatever it breathed upon it burnt; so that the assembled people took to their heels, and Wuhub Bin Munia states that twenty-five thousand persons were crushed to death in that crowd. The dragon then approached the throne of Fara'ûn, intending to swallow it. When the tyrant beheld this terrible sight he fell down from his seat, and answered during one night and day the calls of his wicked nature forty times, whereas before that event he had done so only

once in forty days. It is related that on the said occasion Fara'ûn grasped the supports of his throne, cried for mercy, and besought the Lord Mûsa to remove this affliction, pledging himself to follow the law, and to withdraw the hand of tyranny from the children of Esràil. Then Mûsa touched, by divine command, with his blessed hand the dragon, which immediately recovered its original form and became a staff again.

After the prodigy of the staff, Mûsa said 'I have another argument in favour of the truth of my prophetic dignity.' Fara'ûn asked 'What is it?' Then Mûsa put his hand in his bosom, and when he drew it forth again it dazzled every eye by its splendour, and all the people fell upon their faces, because they had not the power to look at his bright hand, wherefore they craved pity from Mûsa, imploring him to remove it.

Verses Wonder not that the purblind His beauty could not see,
For the eye of the nocturnal bird cannot behold the sun
He who has attained certainty may safely approach,
For envy's eye sees not this power even in a dream.

Then Fara'ûn said 'Return to-day, that I may consider the [propriety of] following thee.' When Mûsa again came, Fara'ûn said to him without the knowledge of his people, secretly. 'O Musa, thou hast killed twenty-five thousand persons, perhaps thou hast been sent for that purpose?' Mûsa replied: 'In reality they have been killed by thyself, because thou believest not in God the Most High, and hast forced these people to become infidels and idolaters' Then Mûsa admonished and invited him to adore the Lord God, whose word be glorified, but Fara'ûn asked 'What will be my reward if I comply with thy demand?' Mûsa replied 'I desire thee to do one thing, that I may give thee four in return for it' Fara'ûn asked 'What is thy desire?' Mûsa continued 'Thou must worship God, besides whom there is no other' Fara'ûn queried. 'What are the four things?' Musa said 'I shall beseech the inscrutable Creator to grant thee youth which is not followed by old age, and to bestow upon thee a

royalty which cannot be wrested from thee, to give thee health not interrupted by disease, and eternal paradise in the next world.' Fara'ûn said 'I shall give thee a reply after having consulted some wise men.' Then he entered his house, and informed Asia of what had taken place She said 'No intelligent person would refuse these blessings, and thou must without delay act according to the words of Mûsa.' Fara'ûn then left Asia and consulted Hâmân,[291] but the latter heedlessly said 'Wouldst thou, after having reposed for many years on the glorious throne of deity, now descend to the humiliation of slavery? Wouldst thou, after having been for a long time worshipped by others, now worship another? The kingdom is thy kingdom, and no one can wrest it from thy grasp If thou actest according to the advice of skilled physicians, thou wilt always enjoy health Dye thy hair and beard like Mûsa, thou wilt always appear to be young, and as for paradise, I do not believe there is one besides these gardens of bliss, which thou [already] possessest' After having thus succumbed to the deceitful and flattering words of Hâmân, Fara'ûn refused to obey Musa, he assembled the grandees and councillors of his realm, and said 'What is your opinion about the removal of these two sorcerers, who desire to expel you by the aid of their witchcraft from this country, in order to obtain it for themselves?' The grandees of the land being of opinion that dexterous magicians could resist Musa Fara'un issued orders that all the countries of the earth be searched, and that wherever a sorcerer was discovered he should be produced The number of these magicians is variously set down by the Emâms of history, but the most correct tradition is that it consisted of seventy-two individuals Fara'ûn promised them royal favours, and appointed a certain festival and holiday of the Qabats, on which everyone was to display his skill, so that the conqueror might be discerned from the conquered, and truth from falsehood When the time of respite had elapsed, on

[291] This was the Wazir of Fara'un and bears the same name with that of Ahasuerus in the book of Esther

their New Year's Day, which was the tenth of the month Muharram, immense crowds of people, which the plains and mountains could scarcely hold, assembled in the space set apart for the festival. The assembly of magicians, skilled in playing various tricks upon each other, and gladdened by the largesses of the accursed Fara'ûn, were expecting the arrival of Mûsa and of Harûn, who soon made their appearance, and began to admonish and to instruct the magicians, who were quickly undeceived, by the conversation, circumstances, freedom, and demeanour of the two brothers, in the opinion that they were sorcerers like themselves, and exclaimed in great astonishment and apprehension, [addressing Mûsa as follows]: 'If thou conquerest us, we shall become thy followers; but if we are victors, Fara'ûn will know what he has to do. By his favour and aid, however, we hope to become the conquerors.' They accordingly begged leave of Mûsa, and drew themselves up on the plain, whereon their staffs, which were hollow and full of quicksilver, began to move from the heat of the sun. The people took them to be real serpents, and began to run. Mûsa, perceiving this, was grieved at the vileness of the comparison, and said to Harûn: 'It must not be that these people take us also for sorcerers and remain under this impression.' Then the divine allocution reached him: 'Fear not, for thou shalt be superior; therefore cast down [the rod] which is in thy right hand' (to the end of the verse).[202] When Mûsa threw his staff it became a great dragon, and swallowed all their figures, which were [only] semblances;[203] then it hastened towards the pavilion of Fara'ûn, for the purpose of devouring it likewise. In this dreadful predicament Fara'ûn preferred flight to permanency; all the people hustled each other and ran away; great confusion took place in the plain, in so disastrous a manner that, according to tradition, six hundred thousand persons were crushed to death. When Mûsa touched the dragon, it again reverted to its former state and became a staff; but the instruments

[202] Qurân, ch. xx. 71, 72.
[203] *Ibid*, ch. vii. 114; also Exod., ch. vii. 12.

of sorcery could not be found, and the magicians concluded that the Lord Mûsa had been working with the aid of heaven, because they knew that if he had been a sorcerer their utensils would have returned to their original state. On that day Mûsa invited the people to follow the law of God and the religion of Ebrahim. Seventy-two tribes of the Qabats believed, and when the truth of Mûsa and Harûn's pretensions to prophecy became evident to the sorcerers, they immediately hastened to his lordship the speaker [with God] and obtained the felicity of [the religion of] Islâm. Fara'ûn, having been informed that the magicians had become believers, summoned them to his presence, reproached and threatened to cut them to pieces, or to crucify them, to make them renounce the bright religion; but they selected the dignity of martyrdom, prepared themselves for death, and implored the Lord of Glory to vouchsafe them a firm mind, and a patient disposition, to endure the trials and afflictions of martyrdom. After Fara'ûn had issued orders for the execution of these believers, Asia, the daughter of Mûrâhum, also openly made her profession of the faith, disputed with Fara'ûn, and endeavoured to convince him of the verity of the claims of Mûsa and of Harûn to prophecy. On this occasion Fara'ûn gave vent to the ill-feeling which he had a long time harboured against her for having educated Mûsa; and when he was punishing her severely, she besought the beneficent Lord and Granter of requests, saying: 'O Lord, my house is with Thee in paradise! Save me from Fara'ûn and his works! Save me from the unrighteous people!' Then a legion of exalted angels met her soul, and conveyed her victorious spirit in a howdah of light to the mansions of joy and tranquillity. When Fara'ûn perceived that a great multitude of Qabats had believed the words of Mûsa, as well as that the Esrâilites were boasting of him and rejoiced, the tyrant commanded the other Qabats to persecute the children of Esrâil, and to oppress them more than ever; therefore the latter took refuge with Mûsa, and said: 'O prophet of Allah, before thou camest we were afflicted by

the tyranny of this people, and were compelled to obey them; but according to the injunctions of our fathers and ancestors, we consoled ourselves with the expectation that thou wouldst arise to be our prophet, and we prognosticated deliverance and joy from thy presence. Now, however, when the age is adorned by the resplendent happiness of thy mission, we are suffering the insults of the Qabats as before; they persecute us now more intensely, and the hand of their infidelity and wickedness has become even more strong than formerly; hence we are greatly distressed, and can no longer bear our misery. Either allow us to flee or to disperse in the world, or give us permission to fight our enemies, or to devise some other plan to ensure our tranquillity.' Mûsa consoled them much, and said. 'Perhaps your Lord will destroy your foes, and will cause you to inherit the earth.' When Mûsa, after all his preachings and admonitions, despaired that Fara'ûn and his adherents would obey, and make profession of the religion, he uttered an invocation with reference to those people, whereon the Lord and Creator of beings afflicted them with many plagues.[294] The first of these was famine, which distressed the people of Fara'ûn during three years; then came the plague, by which many perished; with reference to this, however, people differ, some alleging that it was a deluge of water and some that it consisted of hailstones and dews, whilst others are of opinion that it was a pestilence, by which, according to some, boils and sores are meant It is said that the appearance of the small-pox in the world dates from that time. According to our opinion, that plague lasted seven days when locusts made their appearance, and their depredations lasted seven days, during which they devastated all the harvests and fields. After the locusts the people were for seven days afflicted with the plague of lice, in such a way that all their ploughed fields, plants, trees and flowers, houses, rooms, beds, vessels, eatables, beverages, the limbs of their bodies, their fountains, and even their eyes were filled with them, so that the endurance

[294] See Exod., chs. vii, viii., ix., x.

and patience of the infidels became exhausted. With reference to this plague, also, different opinions are current, but the prevalent one is that it was an affliction by lice. After this they were tormented by the plague of frogs, and when, after the removal of these troubles, their infidelity and obstinacy again increased, the Most High transmuted the water of the Nile into blood for the Qabats, so that they tasted on one side fresh blood, whilst the sons of Esrâil drank pure water on the other, and it was impossible to avoid this calamity. This plague also lasted seven days, and when one of these afflictions appeared, the Qabats waited upon Mûsa, begging him to remove it, promising him to make profession of the religion after being delivered therefrom, and to leave the children of Esrâil alone. When, however, the Lord Mûsa had prayed, and the plague ceased, they relapsed into their former aberration and continued to injure the children of Esrâil. After Mûsa had for the seventh time invoked the Almighty, the rapacious animals of the desert attacked the Qabats during seven days, after the expiration whereof an epidemic attacked their cattle and quadrupeds for seven days more. Then the atmosphere became dark three days and nights, contrary winds were also blowing, and on this occasion the divine revelation was communicated to Mûsa to announce to his people the approach of the time when their foss would be destroyed, and that he should make a census, and lead out his whole nation from Egypt, to remain stationary on the seashore, until the Omnipotent Sovereign and Granter of requests would cause them to pass unscathed across the waves of the sea, in which Fara'un and his hosts would be destroyed.

Some have stated that Mûsa dwelt among the Qabats twenty years after the magicians had made their profession of the Faith, during which period of time he performed nine miracles. The learned assure us that all these plagues took place within the time of eleven months, and that they first afflicted the people during the month of Aiâr, and last in Adhâr, at the end of the eightieth year of

the age of Mûsa. The most prevalent opinion, however, among historians is that these signs took place during three years and eleven months.

It is related that, at the instigation of Hâman, Fara'ûn intended to kill Mûsa. When the latter heard of this intention, he prayed to the Omnipotent to frustrate this design, to harden the hearts of the people, and to seal up their breasts, so that they might incur a sore chastisement. Several commentators inform us that all the substances possessed by the Qabats were transmuted into stones, so that on the occasion when the Lord Mûsa uttered the request, all the bread that a woman was just baking became petrified. The Qabats then again went to Mûsa and pledged themselves that they would all follow his law if he were to beseech the Lord Most High to grant them all blessings as in former times. Mûsa prayed, and his orison was responded to; those obdurate wretches, however, persisted in their contumacy and rebellion, saying: 'We shall not believe unless thou performest some miracle for the purpose of converting us from our religion; nor shall we have any faith in thy prophetic dignity.' It is said that every time Mûsa displayed a miracle Fara'ûn was inclined to become his follower, but that the misguided seducer Hâmân dissuaded him, exclaiming: 'Wilt thou become a slave after having been a master, and wilt thou be a servant after having been a lord?' Accordingly Fara'ûn was, by the words of that accursed one, led astray from the right path, turned to the abyss of perdition, and incurred eternal damnation:

Distich: The company of fools is empty like a pot.
Within it is empty, and without black.

Record of the Building of Fara'ûn's Castle.

Collectors of traditions have narrated that when the affairs of Mûsa were in the ascendant, great multitudes believed in him; but Fara'ûn said: 'I will have nothing to do with Mûsa; I desire to ascend to heaven and to obtain information about the God of Mûsa, and to fight him,

because I see no one in the world more worthy to be adored than myself. I consider Mûsa to be a liar.' Ideas like these prevailed in his unhallowed imagination, and he commanded Hâmân to erect a lofty castle, from which he might ascend to heaven. Accordingly Hâmân assembled skilful architects from all quarters, who collected all the necessary materials—such as stones, mortar, etc., and were for a long time engaged in building. One of the later writers has narrated—but the responsibility rests with him—that the castle [when completed] was so lofty that anyone wishing to mount to its summit was obliged to travel for a whole year [*sic*]. When the edifice had been completed, Fara'ûn went up, shot an arrow into the sky, and challenged the Lord of Magnificence, with His angels, to throw that arrow back upon him besmeared with blood. That accursed one actually laughed, saying: 'Lo, I have killed the God of Mûsa' It is related that after Fara'ûn had left this tower Jebrâil touched it with the extremity of his wing, whereon it crumbled into three pieces, one of which fell on the encampment of his army, and annihilated many people; another fell into the country of the Maghrab,[295] and every person connected in any way with the building perished. Several historians inform us that this castle had been constructed during the time of the nine signs, which were as follows: 1. The staff; 2. The bright hand; 3. The solving and knotting; 4. The retreating and division of the seas; 5. The inundation; 6. The locusts; 7. The lice; 8. The frogs; 9. The breath. Allah, however, is the most wise.

RECORD OF THE EXODUS OF MÛSA—U. W. B, ETC—AND HARÛN—U. W. B, ETC.—FROM EGYPT. THE ESCAPE OF THE SONS OF ESRÂIL. THE DESTRUCTION OF FARA'ÛN AND HÂMÂN WITH THE QABATS, THEIR REBELLIOUS ADHERENTS.

When the Lord Mûsa was ordered to quit Egypt, he assembled the chiefs of the sons of Esrâil, declared to them

295 This is Northern Africa, west of Egypt.

the purport of the divine revelation, and ordered them to keep the whole nation in readiness for the journey. When they left the council and dispersed they endeavoured, during one month, to make the preparations necessary for their departure, but as every day a new obstacle sprang up, they were impeded from executing their designs. Mûsa convoked the notables of the children of Esrâil a second time, and inquired about the cause of the delay, whereon they replied: 'All this happened because Yusuf had in his last days left the mandate, that when the children of Esrâil leave Egypt, they must take his sarcophagus along with them, and bury it in the sepulchre of his noble ancestors, but as during the lapse of time the place of Yusuf's tomb has been forgotten, we do not know where it is' Mûsa—u. w. b., etc—then enjoined them, by no means to slacken their researches and not to despair of seeing their efforts crowned with success. The people of Esrâil continued their inquiries, until at last they discovered an old woman who knew the place. As soon as Mûsa was informed of this news he summoned her to his presence, and asked her about the site of the tomb of Yusuf. The old hag answered: 'I have also my desires. I wish to recover the youthfulness and the vigour of my adolescence, and wish to become thy companion in paradise. If thou wilt satisfy these demands I shall guide thee to the tomb of Yusuf.' In obedience to an intimation from heaven, Mûsa pledged himself to assist her in her request, and in consequence of his prayers the woman obtained the blessing of youth. She then pointed out the locality of the tomb in the river Nile, the water of which receded therefrom by the invocations of the Lord Mûsa; and the spot having been dug up, the coffin of the veracious one, which was made of stone, or, according to another opinion, of dark-blue glass, made its appearance. The workmen then removed the sarcophagus to a safe place outside the city, returned to their homes, and the children of Esrâil engaged in preparations for their journey.

Many of the chief historians, however, assert that this

coffin was discovered only during the night of the departure of the children of Esrâil. In short, when the sons of Esrâil had finished all their preparations and were ready to start, they borrowed, by the order of Mûsa, which he had received through a divine inspiration, great quantities of ornaments and jewellery from the Qabats, under the pretext of requiring them for marriage ceremonies. In this manner they accumulated so much property that it became difficult to transport it. As a sign of the exodus every one of the sons of Esrâil offered a sacrifice according to his ability, and smeared some of the blood of it upon the door of his house; this was called the Fasah[206] sacrifice. They began to move at midnight, which is a time of rest for all people, and left Egypt with their families and children. They halted at the place where Yusuf's coffin was, and when all the children of Esrâil had assembled in the locality, Mûsa ordered them to constitute themselves into an army, the opinions about whose numbers vary, one of them has, ever, been recorded previously in these pages. After the army had been divided into several parts, the Lord Mûsa appointed Harûn to take command of the vanguard, entrusted the right and the left wings to generals of the tribe of Yahuda and Lâvi, placed Yoshua', the son of Nûn, and the nobles of the tribe of Yusuf and of Ebn Yâmin in the centre, while he himself walked in the rear of the army. This took place, according to the most prevalent tradition, on Sunday night, the 9th of the month Muharram. Some scholars, however, assert that the exodus of Mûsa from Egypt took place on Friday, the 15th of Nisân. On account of the great haste in which the people were, they baked unleavened bread and consumed it. The Jews celebrate and solemnize a festival on the Friday preceding the middle of the month Nisân, calling it the feast of unleavened bread, which is their greatest and principal holiday; and whoever partakes on that day of their unleavened bread which they bake like the flat bread-cakes of Moslems, they show him great favours.

[206] Fasah = Pascha = Passover. See Exod., ch. xii.

When the sons of Esrâil left Egypt that night, they halted at a place which they called A'in-ush-shams, whence they marched to a locality named Baghâr, and remained there.

RECORD OF THE DISCOVERY OF THE QABATS THAT THE CHILDREN OF ESRÂIL HAD DEPARTED, FARA'ÛN'S PROCEEDING WITH HIS ARMY IN PURSUIT OF THEM AND HIS REACHING [WITH HIS ARMY] THE FIRE BY WAY OF WATER.

When the Qabats arose on the morning of the 9th of Muharram from their sleep, and perceived none of the children of Esrâil, they guessed what had taken place, and nearly went mad on account of the loss of their property. They shouted, lamented, hastened to the palace of Fara'ûn, and informed him of the event. He ordered his army to assemble and wished to march that very moment in pursuit of the children of Esrâil, but as an unexpected calamity had overtaken the families of the Qabats, in that most of their maidens and wives migrated to the abode of perdition, the intention could not be executed [on that day]. The next morning, which was the 10th of Muharram and the eve of the adversity [to come], Fara'ûn marched with an innumerable army in all haste after Mûsa.[207] When six hours of the day had elapsed, the vanguard of Fara'ûn's army approached the left wing of Mûsa's host; the children of Esrâil perceived the impending danger, and exclaimed: 'O prophet of Allah, the enemy has arrived, and we shall undoubtedly be made prisoners.'

Distich In rear the sword's fire, the sea's water in front;
With eyes behold, and pity with thy heart our evil fate.

Mûsa replied: 'The Creator—whose name be exalted and sanctified—has announced to me success and victory, and His promises are true. Be not dismayed, for this moment we shall be rejoiced.' Then Jebrâil the faithful descended and brought a revelation, saying: 'Smite the sea with thy

[207] Exod., ch. xiv. 6.

staff.'[298] Mûsa then raised his hands in prayer, and said: 'My God! Thee we praise and to Thee we complain. Thou art our refuge. There is no power nor strength except with God the Most High and Great.' After he had terminated this prayer, he struck his staff on the sea, exclaiming: 'Be thou divided, O father of Khâled [*sic*], by the permission of Allah the Most High.' That very moment the sea became divided into twelve streets, according to the number of the tribes of the sons of Esrâil, having between them walls of water standing out in the air like twelve vaults. The breeze of grace blew the sun of the favour of God shone, and the bottom of the sea became dry forthwith. The tribes entered their respective streets, and on account of the transparency of the partitions they were able to see each other. There is a tradition which informs us, that on account of the apprehensions entertained by the sons of Esrâil, because they could not see their clansmen, the waters between each tribe were, by the prayers of the Lord Mûsa, so reticulated that all the tribes had a mutual view of each other. Mûsa remained on the shore until some of the people of Esrâil had entered the sea, whereon he likewise stepped in by order of Jebrâil, and within the time of four hours all the people of Mûsa had, through that dreadful sea, crossed over to the shore of safety. When Fara'ûn had arrived and beheld the sea in that condition he began to tremble from the intensity of his terror, being amazed at the power of the Omniscient Sovereign, and at the prodigy of the Lord Mûsa. Plunged in astonishment at the sight of the passages through the water, he vacillated between the idea of returning to Egypt or adopting the religion of Mûsa, and began to consult Hâmân concerning these two points, but that accursed and unhallowed individual dissuaded Fara'ûn from his [good] intention, and said: 'As thou hast during four hundred years reigned over the inhabitants of the world as a god and sovereign, enjoying the rank of a deity and supreme ruler, wouldst thou not be ashamed to allow Mûsa and the sons of Esrâil to cross this

[298] Qurân, ch. xx. 79.

water by sorcery, and wouldst thou retreat in order to allow them to escape, and to let thy shame become a matter of history unto all generations? After all, what else can we suppose but that this water has stood up for fear of thee, and has thus been split up on account of thy great wrath? Let us try to overtake the sons of Esrâil, and so revenge ourselves upon them.' Fara'ûn succumbed to the deceitful words of Hâmân, and having been misled by the delirious suggestions of his wazir, transgressed the ways of reason, and alighting in his arrogance from his courser, he leapt into the sea and was followed by his entire army. Some assert that on the said day the number of Fara'ûn's army amounted to one million and seven hundred thousand men. It is also related that on the above occasion Jebrâil preceded the vanguard of Fara'ûn's army, mounted on a mare, the smell of which allured all the horses to follow her into the depths of the sea, whilst [the angel] Michael was in the rear of the misguided host, and kept the stragglers close to the army. When the vanguard of the Qabats had nearly reached the [opposite] shore, and the rearguard had likewise entered the sea, the particles of water united with each other by the mandate of God, and having become one volume they destroyed the obdurate and the rebellious[290]

It is recorded in the 'Labâb-ut-tafâsir' that once upon a time the waters of the Nile had disappeared, and that the people went to Fara'ûn for the purpose of causing them to flow as before. Fara'ûn then ordered every one of his attendants and servants to mount a horse and to proceed to the plain, where the Amirs and notables of the kingdom also took their stations. Fara'ûn himself retired from the people, alighted from his horse in a secluded spot, prostrated himself on the ground, spread out the carpet of petition, represented his helplessness to the Lord of Magnificence, and forwarded the request of the Qabats to the Lord of lords. The Most High responded, and sent Jebrâil to Fara'ûn, to ask him the following question: What will be

290 Exod., ch. xiv. 21-30.

the reward of that servant who has become great by the favour of his Omnipotent Nourisher, but has afterwards rebelled and sinned against Him, laying claims even to the grandeur of a deity?' Fara'ûn then handed to Jebrâil a page, of which the following were the contents: 'This is what Ab-ul-A'bbâs Alvalid, the son of Ma'sab, of the dynasty of Riâr says, "The reward of a slave who disobeys his Lord and becomes ungrateful to Him is to be drowned in the sea."' Jebrâil took the writing from him and returned, but when Fara'ûn was being drowned, he showed and read it out to him. Fara'ûn, who had become certain of his destruction, now exclaimed: 'I believe that there is no God but He in whom the children of Esrâil believe.' But as faith, extorted by terror, is not acceptable at the palace of monotheism, Jebrâil took up a handful of mud from the bottom of the sea, struck him therewith on the mouth and said: 'Now [dost thou believe], though thou hast been hitherto rebellious and one of the wicked doers?'[300]

Distich : An infidel slave showing faith
Is, according to wisdom, far from God.

Record of the State of the Believers after the Destruction of Fara'ûn and the Qabats.

When Fara'ûn had, on the 10th of Muharram, passed with his whole army, by way of water, into the fire of hell, and the children of Esrâil, who escaped them, had come out from the sea, ten hours of the day had elapsed. Till that time they had eaten nothing, and remained fasting the whole of that day; and among the Jews the 10th of Muharram is to this day set apart as a solemn fast.

After the Fara'ûnites had been drowned, they appeared on the surface of the sea, that the children of Esrâil might behold the state of their enemies, believe in the prophetic dignity of Mûsa, and in the perfection of the creator of mankind. It is said that during ten days the waves of the sea were boisterous, till they threw the corpses of Fara'ûn and of his adherents upon the shore. As the drowned

[300] Qurân, ch. x. 91

people had many garments and costly articles upon their bodies, the children of Esrâil made haste to despoil them, and although Mûsa had admonished them not to be too greedy for plunder, and to be content with what they had brought away during the night of the exodus, they would not mind his words, and ceased not their efforts until at last those riches became a cause of affliction to the people through the instrumentality of Sâmeri,[301] as shall be narrated—if it pleaseth Allah—in its proper place.

It is related that on the 12th of Muharram, Mûsa selected Yoshua', the son of Nûn, and sent him with twenty-four thousand men to Egypt. When they arrived in that country, they took possession of everything the Qabats had left, carried off all their movable property, and sent it to the Lord Mûsa They also disposed of the gardens, cultivated fields, with all goods and chattels. They sold some, and retained some; they likewise appointed a Qabat to be governor of the residue of that nation, and then returned. When Yoshua' had arrived, the children of Esrâil left the sea-shore and began to travel. They were preceded in the day by a cloud which overshadowed them, and in the night by a pillar of light that was in their vanguard, so that they marched by the aid thereof.[302] When they had progressed three stages from the sea-coast, they arrived in a place called Marira,[303] which contained bitter water, the children of Esrâil besought Mûsa to make it potable, whereon his lordship directed them by divine command to throw grass into the spring, and it became sweet. As they were marching they happened to pass near a locality inhabited by numerous A'mâlekites, who possessed some idols in the shape of cows and calves, which they worshipped. After the children of Esrâil had seen them they went to Mûsa, and opening the mouth of petition, said: 'We ought likewise to have some statues, in the similitude of these idols, that we may adore them, and seek to approach the Lord and Omniscient Sovereign by the

[301] The maker of the calf of gold. [302] Exod., ch. xiii. 21.
[303] *Ibid.*, ch. xv. 23.

mediation of these figures.' Mûsa, being highly grieved at this proposal, said: 'Do you want another God besides Allah, who has exalted you above all the inhabitants of the world?' The pious among the children of Esrâil wept when they heard the warning of Mûsa, and the unwise among them repented, begging to be excused, whereon Mûsa interceded, and God Almighty pardoned them. Some of the chief historians narrate that the children of Esrâil asked Mûsa, after they had been forgiven, that as the Lord of Unity had not punished them for this crime, they might be permitted to show their repentance in some way. Mûsa then prayed, and afterwards informed them that the mandate was as follows: 'You shall go to Syria and shall conquer it. When you enter Ariha [Jericho], which is one of the towns of Syria, you shall humbly prostrate yourselves and implore the Forgiving Lord to pardon your sins, whereon you are to walk in the path of repentance and deprecation.' The wisdom of that command being that the inhabitants of that city, who were idolators, should, on witnessing the humility, obedience, and supplications of the children of Esrâil, renounce their unhallowed customs. When the people of Mûsa arrived at the gates of Ariha, the pious among them did as they had been bidden, but the wicked exclaimed, 'Hatti samaqatha,' and scoffed in every possible way at the command. The meaning of the words 'Hatti samaqatha,' in the Nabatæan language, is 'red wheat'; hence the Almighty sent an epidemic upon those ill-disposed people, in consequence whereof twenty-four thousand of their nobles and magnates perished in one hour. Mûsa then prayed in concert with the pious and the religious. By the blessing of their devotions, their petitions were heard, and this affliction was removed from them. According to some histories, this catastrophe took place after the conquest of Ariha, but this opinion seems to be unfounded, because that land was subdued in the time of Yoshua', the son of Nûn, after the children of Esrâil had ceased their wanderings, as will be narrated in these pages—if it pleaseth Allah—when the state of Ariha

is to be described. The children of Esrâil were for a long time following the law of Ebrahim, and the religion of the Friend [of God], until the time when the Lord Mûsa—u. w. b., etc.—ascended Mount Sinai, at the request of the children of Esrâil, and established a new law.

Record of the going of Mûsa—u. w. b., etc.—to Mount Sinai; his being addressed by the Divine Allocution; the Descent of the Tables of the Law, the Sojourn of the Children of Esrâil in the Desert during many Years, and Sâmeri's seducing them.

As the children of Esrâil were greatly importuning the Lord Mûsa—u. w. b., etc.—to give them a separate law, which they might observe, and by the aid thereof acquire divine favour, the Lord Mûsa—u. w. b., etc.—addressed his petition with reference to this subject to the Lord of Unity whereon this allocution came: 'It will be necessary for thee to approach Mount Sinai, and to fast thirty days, that thou mayest obtain thy desire, and that thy wish may be gratified.' Mûsa then said to the children of Esrâil: 'I shall go to Mount Sinai, and intend to remain there for some time; do you likewise move towards the desert of Sin, take up your position there, engage in adoring the Most High, and wait for my return. I hope He will grant you a fresh religion and a new law.' Then Mûsa appointed Harûn to be his successor in the government of the people until his return. When the children of Esrâil heard from Mûsa that the Lord of Magnificence had promised to converse with him on the mountain, they requested him to be allowed to despatch several individuals of each tribe to accompany him, so that they might likewise be ennobled by learning the sublime words of God, and that the memory of this propitious event might be perpetuated among the descendants of Ya'qûb—u. w. b., etc.—from generation to generation. Mûsa complied with their request, and selected from among the twelve tribes seventy pious and wise men to go with him.

Another tradition is, that these seventy men went with Músa for the sake of propitiation and deprecation to Mount Sinai, after the people had worshipped the [molten] calf. In the 'Labâb-ut-tafâsir' it is recorded that the going of these seventy individuals took place, because on a certain occasion Mûsa had gone with Harûn to the mountain for the purpose of devotion, and that on the said occasion Harûn died suddenly. When the people again saw Mûsa they accused him of having slain his brother, therefore he took, for the purpose of justifying himself, seventy men to the mountain, and prayed that Harûn might again be resuscitated to life, which request having been responded to, the skirts of his lordship's innocence were purified from the mire of suspicion. The above traditions may perhaps be reconciled by assuming, that on both these occasions the said seventy men had accompanied his lordship.

In short, when Mûsa proceeded to the mountain, he ordered the people to move in the direction of the desert of Sin. Accordingly the cloud, which was constantly throwing its shadow upon the heads of the children of Esrâil, began to move towards the plain of Sin; following the cloud with cheerfulness, and marching till they reached the appointed place, they halted, waiting for the return of Mûsa.[304] After Mûsa had left his people, he remained, according to one tradition, from the first of Zilqa'da during a whole month, on the heights of Sinai, never ceasing his devotions, fasting in the day, watching in the night, and constantly praising God. Jebrâil then descended and brought the divine revelation, that yet ten days more were required to complete the appointed time. Mûsa assented, but thereby failed in his promise to return, wherefore the fools among the children of Esrâil congregated around Harûn, and said: 'The days, after which thy brother promised to return, have elapsed, and till now we possess no news either of him, or about the chiefs of our people; it is possible that Mûsa has killed them, or may do so. What is the remedy in this emergency, and how can this embar-

[304] Exod., ch xix 1

rassment be removed?' Sâmeri, being aware of their imperfect understandings, made use of this opportunity to seduce them, and said: 'O my people, I know why Mûsa has not kept his promise, and why he has not come.' The children of Esrâil inquired, and Sâmeri continued: 'Mûsa was displeased when he separated from you, and the cause of his displeasure is, that when after the drowning of the Qabats you took their property and disposed of the spoils, you have not been warned by the prohibition of the prophet of Allah, therefore he now avoids you, that he may not be present in case any misfortune should befall the people of Esrâil on account of their disobedience, or become a sharer in their troubles and afflictions. It is possible that he will become reconciled to you, and that he will speedily return, in case you should be willing to part with your riches' The Jews who believed these words of Sâmeri dug a well, and throwing into it whatever they had taken without the permission of Mûsa, covered the top of it. Sâmeri then continued his wicked proposals, saying: 'Mûsa will not return to you until you burn all that property.' They again complied with his wish, opened the well, threw fire into it, and gave everything dissolvable to Sâmeri—who knew the trade of a goldsmith—that he might melt it That chief of seducers then liquefied all the silver and gold, of which he made a calf,[305] into whose abdomen he placed a little dirt, which he had gathered from under the hoofs of the horse of Jebrâil when the Fara'ûnites were destroyed. The golden calf immediately commenced to bleat, but according to another tradition this figure was transmuted into flesh and bones, with skin and feet. After this strange event, Sâmeri said to the people: This calf is your god, and the omnipotent nourisher of Mûsa. Worship it, and pray to it that Musa may again send you back the chieftains of your tribes' Being led astray by this foolish suggestion, they girded their loins to adore the calf, except twelve thousand men of the tribes of Yusuf and Ben Yâmin, who refrained from that opprobrious act, blamed the people, and

[305] Exod., ch. xxxii 4.

refused to comply with their wishes. Harûn was likewise, despite all his admonitions, unable to effect anything, although he never ceased reproaching the people till they threatened to expel or to murder him. Mûsa, who had remained with those seventy men engaged in prayer on Mount Sinai, knew nothing of what had taken place, until forty days had elapsed, namely, from the beginning of Zilqa'da till the tenth of Zilhajja, or, according to another tradition, from the beginning of Zilhajja till the tenth of Muharram. Then Mûsa hastened on the forty-first day—which was, according to the beliefs of Jews and Christians, the first day of the fifth month—before his companions to the place of worship, and a subtle cloud intervening between him and them, he disappeared from their sight The Lord Most High spoke to him without the intervention of palate or tongue, gave him the tables of the ten commandments that contained the nucleus and principles of religion and laws, and rejoiced the sons of Esrâil with a new Law. It is recorded in some histories, that when Mûsa the speaker [with God] had on that occasion ascended Mount Sinai, after the completion of the forty days, he asked in his prayers to behold God, but his request was not granted.

Distich: 'Thou shalt not see me,' the answer to Mûsa comes,
All this is the clamour of longing, but not His want

It is related in creditable books, that when the veil [of the cloud] was removed, Mûsa became visible to the people, and expounded to them the contents of the tables, with the details of the commandments of religion, they replied 'Our object in undergoing so many hardships, and the intention of the community of Esrâilites in sending us was, that we might likewise be made happy by hearing the divine words and might bear witness of them to our people.' Mûsa, therefore, prayed with reference to this subject and his request was granted, whereon, all of a sudden the same subtle cloud appeared, and enveloped Mûsa with his seventy companions. All heard the divine voice, and were gratified by listening to the words

that were written upon the ten [*sic*] tables. When the veil was removed the companions of Mûsa began to contend with each other, and said: 'We shall not believe thee by merely hearing the words, unless we behold the Speaker Himself with our own eyes.' After they had thus vented their feelings, a black cloud made its appearance, various great and terrible phenomena manifested themselves, lightnings and an earthquake took place, and those who desired to see the Governor of the Universe, were transmitted into non-existence. Mûsa was astonished at their unbelief, and wondered at the suspicions of the sons of Esrâil; he therefore prayed until the Lord of Glory again invested them with the robe of life and they repented of their acts and sayings, believed the words of Mûsa, and obeyed the laws of the Almighty Lord. The Lord Mûsa remained three days longer and prayed, until God—w. n. b. e.—sent him two other tables, made of gems and containing evident signs [*i.e.* miracles] written with the pen of light. Then he took the tables and proceeded with those seventy men to the people. When the Lord, who knows all secrets, had informed Mûsa that the Esrâilites were worshipping a calf, his wrath was incensed, and when he arrived among the people, he first began to upbraid Harûn, and then the perfidious nation; and when anger towards Sâmeri had overpowered his blessed nature, he threw the tables upon the ground so that some of them were broken.[306] He also took hold of Harûn's beard and head, which he drew towards himself; but Harûn said: 'O son of my mother, the children of Esrâil have not regarded me, and well-nigh killed me.' Mûsa rejoined: 'When thou sawest that the people did not obey thee, why didst thou not leave them, and come to me?' Harûn continued: 'O son of my mother, do not hold me by my beard nor by my head. I feared thou wouldst say, "Why hast thou abandoned the children of Esrâil, and hast not regarded my words? Cause not my foes to rejoice over me, and place me not with the wicked people."' When Mûsa had

[306] Exod., ch. xxxii. 19.

become convinced of Harûn's inability [to resist the idolatrous intentions of the people] he apologized to him, and also interceding for him said: 'O Lord, forgive me and my brother, and receive us into Thy mercy; for Thou art the most merciful of those who practise mercy.'[307] Mûsa looked at the sons of Esrâil and all the calf-worshippers became ashamed, drooping their heads. His lordship then said: 'Our God has made a good promise to you, has called me to adore Him, and has sent a book to you. During the short time, however, I was separated from you, the covenant seemed long to you, and you have broken your promise.' Then the sons of Esrâil unanimously accused Sâmeri or having seduced them, but confessed also their own guilt and sin. Mûsa called Sâmeri, examined him concerning the circumstances of the case, and Sâmeri said: I have seen Jebrâil, and have taken a handful of dirt from under the hoof of his horse. I have for a long time desired to mislead the children of Esrâil, and when I obtained the opportunity to do so, I placed the dirt into the body of the calf, whereon it gave forth a sound, and these fools, having deflected from the straight road, the intention of my mind was fulfilled.' Mûsa said: 'O Sâmeri, I shall not kill thee, but may no one feel amity for thee or become thy companion in this world, until the chastisement due to thee reaches thee in the next [*sic*].' Then the sons of Esrâil congregated around Mûsa and craved pardon. After Mûsa had addressed his prayers to the Almighty, the mandate was issued to kill [the idolaters]. Therefore, disputes arose among the children of Esrâil, many of whom were inclined, and many were not inclined, to obey the said mandate, saying: 'As we have not worshipped the calf, why should we consent to be killed?' This uproar and quarrelling continued until Mûsa burnt up the calf, by the command of the Lord of Unity, and throwing its ashes into the sea ordered every one of the people to drink of the water thereof.[308] No sign appeared upon the obedient [after the people had drank], but the tongue of every one of the rebels

[307] Qurân, ch. vii. 150. [308] Exod., ch. xxxii. 20.

was marked with a golden point. Then the command was issued that those twelve thousand men who had not worshipped the calf should take up their swords and exterminate the calf-worshippers. The latter accordingly put on their funeral shrouds, made their last wills, turned their faces towards the Qiblah; then wailing and lamentation rose from the children of Esrâil, those twelve thousand men performed their work of decapitation, and the awfulness of the resurrection appeared to be at hand. It is related that on the said occasion a black vapour covered them, to prevent their seeing each other, so that the father might not spare his son, nor the latter his father, and that the execution of God's command might not be delayed. During the carnage Mûsa, Harûn, the pious, the weak, the children and the aged of the people bared their necks, and prostrated themselves in adoration, humiliation, and lamentation. According to one tradition that catastrophe lasted from morn to noon, and according to another, it ended after the expiration of three days and nights. So many were killed that rivers of blood flowed. According to the first tradition the number of the slain amounted to seventy thousand, and according to the second to three hundred and twenty thousand individuals. When the appointed time had expired, their swords no longer operated, and by no efforts could any more of the people be slain. When Mûsa heard this news he knew that divine pardon had been awarded to the [rest of the] criminals; he therefore ordered the executioners to sheath their swords and to cease the carnage. After that Mûsa went on the 18th of Tamûz up to Mount Sinai to intercede for the nation. He prayed there forty days, and after returning to his people on the 27th of the month of Ab, he again went to Mount Sinai, and humbled himself during forty days [more] in prayer, until the Lord God Almighty gave him two other tables, instead of those which he had broken to pieces under the influence of his wrath. The belief of the Jews and Christians is that the descent of these tables took place on the 10th of Tashrin the first which they call 'the day of hearts'; they consider it a very

solemn day and fast. After that the Mosaic Law descended [from heaven] in forty volumes, but more correctly after these forty three additional ones descended; and the first forty which his lordship obtained when he went to Mount Sinai for the purpose of seeing [God] are called the 'forty Miqât.' It is said that during the forty days he was sitting there he never got up, and the second forty days are called 'the quarantine of intercession,' during the whole time of which he was engaged in adoration. The third forty days are called the 'quarantine of supplication,' during the whole period of which he was standing, until the Most High gave him the tables. Theologians differ about the ten commandments which were written on the tables, but the most correct and the most current opinion is here recorded as follows:

Text of the Ten Commandments which were on the Tables of the Law.[309]

'In the name of Allah, the merciful, the clement! This is an epistle from Allah the most powerful, magnificent, and victorious sovereign, to His servant and prophet Mûsa, the son of E'mrân. May he praise and glorify Me!

'There is no God besides Me, therefore worship Me and do not associate with Me anything [in the shape of idols]. Thank Me and thy parents, and I shall cause thee to live [long]. Thou shalt not kill the soul which Allah has forbidden except justly; or else the heavens with all their extent, and the earth with all its surface, will become too narrow for thee. Do not swear falsely by My name, for I shall neither purify nor justify anyone who does not magnify My name. Do not bear testimony about things which thy ear has not heard, thy eye has not seen, or thy heart has not perceived, for I shall hold all witnesses responsible for their testimonies on the day of resurrection, and I shall examine them on this account. Envy not thy fellow-men for any blessings or bounties I may have vouchsafed to

[309] Exod., ch. xx. 1-17.

them, because an envious person is a foe to the receiver of *My benefits*, and provokes My vengeance. Do not commit adultery, and do not steal, because My favour will become veiled, and the portals of heaven will be shut to thy prayers. Sacrifice not to anyone besides Me, because a sacrifice will not be accepted unless My name be pronounced over it. Do not covet thy neighbour's wife, for it is as hateful to Me as incest.[310] People love that which thou lovest, and hate what thou hatest. Peace be on thee, with My commiseration and blessing!'

The above is the text of the ten commandments, as Tha'lebi has related in the 'A'râis-ulqeṣas.' The Lord—w. n. b. pr.—revealed the contents of these words in the verses of the glorious Forqân,[311] as follows: 'Say, come, I shall rehearse to you what your Lord has prohibited: You shall not associate anything with Him; you shall honour your parents, you shall not kill your infants for fear of want, [Allah savs]: We shall nourish you and them; avoid open and mental lasciviousness; do not kill the soul which Allah has prohibited, except justly. This is a command to you, perhaps you will understand it. Do not touch the property of orphans, except righteously, until they attain maturity. Observe justice in your measures and weights, and do not injure any one but you repair it. Keep your promises also to your relatives, and satisfy the covenant with Allah, perhaps you will remember it; for this is the straight path, follow it, and do not follow other roads, because they will mislead you; this is your command, and perhaps you will fear [Allah].'[312]

[310] The word is *maqat*, which means properly the marriage of a son with his step-mother, after the decease of his father, and therefore *incest*.

[311] This is another name for the Qurân, analogous to the Hebrew root *Perek*, denoting a section of Scripture.

[312] Qurân, ch. vi. 152-154.

Record of Mûsa's—u. w. b., etc.—going to Mount Sinai for the purpose of asking to see [God]. The Granting of the Mosaic Law.

After the Lord Mûsa had been several times to Mount Sinai, had completed his quarantines, had been honoured by conversing [with God] and by obtaining the Tables of the Law, he became more familiar with the mansion of the Lord of Unity. Then the aspiration originated in his mind, that as he had been made happy by various blessings vouchsafed unto him by the Almighty, to covet the most perfect and final grace by which he might become exalted over all the other prophets and inspired messengers. With this intention he first most scrupulously performed the ceremonies of the internal and external purification, such as the ablutions of his body, cleansing his garments and the amelioration of his behaviour, as the saying is:

Distich: Perform thy ablution with thy tears, and then visit His house,
Because without ablution the Ka'bah may not be circumambulated.

After that he opened the mouth of adoration, sanctification, and laudation, turned the face of his intention towards Mount Sinai, and after traversing the distance, he arrived in the Vâdi Aimen. A veil of darkness extending to a distance of seven Farsakhs surrounded him, and the demon of sensual appetites, who is appointed over the souls of all the prophets, abandoned him. The reptiles and insects of the earth concealed themselves underground; his two guardian angels obtained leave and separated from him; they, however, afterwards lifted up the curtain of the invisible world from before his eyes, and showed him the inhabitants of the heavenly mansions, the bearers of the throne, the empyrean abode, and the Preserved Table. After the graces of the beauties of the heavens, and the works of God had made their impressions upon his capacious mind, and he had enjoyed the wonderful spectacles of the world of spheres, and the extraordinary shapes of the

pure spirits, he hastened to the conversation with the Lord of Unity and the Sovereign of Eternity, aspiring, in his superabundance of gratitude and immense longing, to behold the Inscrutable One:

Verses: I shall forget everything that exists except Thee.
In both worlds I will have no amorous sports except with Thee.
If Thou directest me, who am helpless, then easy will be
To me, who am unfortunate, any distance to Thee.
To my inmost melancholy heart, which is in solitude,
Not every veiled one can find access but Thou.
Cup-bearer! Make me so by vision's wine,
That from ebriety I may not know whether I am this or Thou.[313]

When Mûsa had given vent to his aspirations, the allocution reached him: 'O son of E'mrân, thy aspirations are lofty, and thou hast manifested a great desire. Knowest thou not that a decaying body and a perishable eye cannot see immortal beauty? Go, however, from this locality to yonder spot; sit there and look at the mountain. If thou wilt abide in that place, thou wilt soon behold Me.' When Mûsa—u. w. b., etc.—had taken his position at the site pointed out to him, the angels of heaven were ordered to alight near Mount Sinai, and again to show themselves to Mûsa in their astonishing forms and wonderful positions, in various series and diverse shapes. Accordingly legions of exalted angels and celestial spirits of awful countenance and terrible aspect descended, chanting hymns of praise, so that Mûsa began to hear fearful voices, and to see powerful radiations, in consequence whereof his lordship was so overwhelmed with fright that he repented of his request. All the angels prostrated themselves in adoration, and the mountain was split in twain; Mûsa then fainted, and did not recover himself during three days. The author of the 'Takalam-ul-lutâif' relates that on the occasion when Mûsa fainted, some of the company of angels glanced at him, and said: 'O son of a menstruating woman, thou hast asked the Lord for a great thing at an unfit season.' Though

[313] The above is a mystic address to the Deity, according to the fashion of Sufis. See 'Persian Portraits,' p. 158.

the body of Mûsa was prostrated, his heart was conscious. He was moved by the voice [he had just heard], excused himself, craved pardon, was sorry, and repented of his boldness. Anus Bin Mâlik says that the mountain fell into six pieces, three of which alighted near Madinah, and they are Ohod, Raqa and Radzui; three fell near Mekkah, and they are Thûr, Zobair and Har. When Mûsa was performing the ceremonies of penitence and conversion, the *allocution reached him: '*O Mûsa, I have elected thee to be the inspired messenger of My words to mankind; take, therefore, what is given to thee and be grateful.' After that, the mandate was issued to Jebrâil to go to the uppermost paradise, and to bring nine tables of green emeralds, and nine sprigs of the lote-tree beyond which there is no passing,[314] and to surrender them to the hands of the Lord of Magnificence. After he had fulfilled the command, the Lord of the Glory of unity completed, with the hand of omnipotence and grace, the Book of the Mosaic Law, with its commands and prohibitions, promises and threats, counsels and admonitions. Mûsa, the speaker [with God]—to whom be greetings and salutations—manifested his fervent gratitude, and after he had been invested with the honour of being elected and approved, he returned to his people, whom he assembled, showed them the nine [*sic*] tables, explained the commands and prohibitions with the whole contents of those pages, and invited them to conform to, and obey all the injunctions. The children of Esrâil, however, refused to accept these commandments, saying: 'We have heard, but we shall not obey.' The Lord Mûsa, being greatly distressed by this rebellious spirit, prayed to the Lord of Magnificence, who then ordered Jebrâil to pull up one of the mountains of the country of Filisteen [Palestine], and to hold it over the encampment of the Esrâilites. Mûsa then turned his face towards them and said: 'O people, if you receive the book of the Lord, you will be delivered of this affliction, or else this mountain

[314] Qurân, ch. liii. 14.—This tree stands in the seventh heaven, on the right hand of the throne of God.

will fall upon your heads, and you will all perish.' They refused and began to run in all directions, but as they were not able to find any refuge whatever, they prostrated themselves in adoration and accepted the Mosaic Law, because they had determined to rebel again as soon as the mountain receded from above their heads. They were kneeling with one half of their faces towards the mountain, and the other half upon the ground, humbling themselves and worshipping. Divine service is to the present day still being performed among the Jews in this manner [*sic*] At last the Esrâilites complied and accepted the law, whereon the mountain was removed from above their heads; they, however, came to Mûsa and requested him to lighten their troubles and burdens, which were greater than they could bear. Mûsa implored the Lord, who accordingly made easy the hard matters commanded in the Mosaic Law, and condensed all the commandments into six hundred and thirteen ordinances. Then Mûsa led the children of Esrâil into the vicinity of Palla and Egypt—the eastern limits whereof belong to Syria—as far as its western frontier which is the country of Andalûs [Andalusia in Spain !] and gave it into their possession. God the Most High has said: 'And we have caused those who were weakened to inherit the east of the land, and the west of it, in which we have been. And the good word of thy Lord was fulfilled on the children of Esrâil, because they were patient. And we have extirpated Fara'ûn and his people, and that which they enthroned.'

Record of the Erection of the Ark of the Testimony, the Deliverance of Harûn, u. w. b., etc., and the Story of the Cow, with the Events which happened on that occasion.

In the month Tashrin the first, which was the seventh month of the eighty-first year of the age of Mûsa, u. w. b., etc., the mandate of the Lord arrived to construct an ark,[315] and to deposit therein the tables containing the ten com-

[315] Exod., ch. xxxvii.

mandments, to erect above the ark a cupola thirty cubits long and ten broad, and to leave around it a court one hundred cubits long and fifty broad, and that, after all these arrangements had been completed, the ark to be entrusted to Harûn and to his sons. Mûsa then issued orders according to the command he had received; the ark was prepared of red gold, the cupola of brocade of seven different colours, and around it gold-embroidered curtains were suspended. All the vessels were made of gold and silver, and inlaid with precious jewels and exquisite rubies. The box containing the Tables was surnamed 'the Ark of the Testimony,' the cupola was called 'the Temple,' and the court, with its appendages, bore the name of 'the Holy House.' The place for Harûn, for the Emâms, and for the descendants of Harûn, was appointed within the courtyard around the Temple. The places of sacrifice, of fumigation and of perfumes, were also fixed. When the construction of the holy house had been finished, a brilliant light descended from heaven and surrounded that courtyard, the circuit whereof was permeated by a thin and pure cloud. The radiation and splendour of its light were so dazzling that no created being, except Mûsa and Harûn, could go in and out of that place. The light within the cupola was more intense than that of the court, and on the 23rd day of the month Adar, Mûsa ordered the children of Esrâil to make sacrifice; he offered it also personally during seven days, and was engaged in that occupation till the end of the month Adar. When the morn of the 8th day, which was the beginning of the month Nisân, dawned, the Lord Mûsa called Harûn, transferred to him the Emâmship and Khalifate,[316] and this dignity remained in the family of Harûn from generation to generation. He also appointed him over the arrangements connected with the *illuminations*, lamps, *fumigations* with incense, the characteristic marks of office-bearers, etc. He called all the children of Esrâil to bear witness, forbade them to rebel against Harûn and his children, and enjoined

[316] Namely, the leadership and successorship.—The officiating priest of a mosque who leads the prayers of the congregation is also called *Emâm*.

it to be lawful to exterminate those who would disobey him and his descendants. After that they offered sacrifice, upon which fire from heaven descended, and consumed it all. The Jews solemnize this day and attribute many virtues to it, because it is Sunday and the anniversary on which the creation of the world had begun. It is the first week and the beginning of the first month of the year. It is also the first day on which the people assembled and paid a visit to the holy house. It is the first day on which they offered sacrifice for the governorship and successorship of Harûn, when the fire came down and devoured all the sacrifices. The children of Esrâil were on this day very happy and joyous, and Harûn was perfectly satisfied after obtaining the highest dignity; but a great misfortune happened, which became an occasion of grief and sorrow to many. Two sons of Harûn were to become his worthy successors, and had, on the occasion when fire descended from heaven and devoured the sacrifice, with the greatest propriety requested their father to be allowed to fill the censer with incense and to set it up in the congregation. After obtaining permission, they took some fire not pertaining to the holy house, placed it on the incense, and at that very moment a smoke arose from the censer, ascended into their brains, and entirely consumed the internal parts of those two descendants of prophets, without producing any outward signs. Mûsa, Harûn, and all the children of Esrâil were much distressed by this catastrophe. They were sad and melancholy, but at last took hold of the skirts of patience, and interred both the corpses in their garments as they were. The next day Harûn appointed his other son, whose name was Ab-ul-ghâzâr, to be his successor, and on the same day A'amil, the son of Rahîl, was killed. A'amil was one of the children of Esma'il, distinguished by great riches and possessions. He had poor nephews to whom he gave nothing, therefore two of them killed him secretly with their swords, for the sake of his riches. When the night set in, they threw the corpse between two tribes of the children of Esrâil, and at dawn the assassins were

found sitting in mourning apparel and [pretending to be] inquiring about the murderer. When the event had been reported to Mûsa, and the culprits had not been discovered, he divided the inheritance in the same way as is done also under the law of our own prophet; nevertheless a dispute arose among the people, and they said to Mûsa: 'As the murderer of A'amil is not known to anyone, except to Him who is aware of the secrets of the visible and the invisible world, He ought to be implored to make him known.' Mûsa accordingly prayed, and a revelation came that a cow must be slaughtered and the corpse be struck with a piece of the flesh thereof, in order to resuscitate it to life, whereon it would reveal the homicide.[317] The children of Esrâil then endeavoured to find a cow, and after they had asked concerning the qualities of the animal, Jebrâil descended and informed them that, as they were embarrassed about her specialities, they should find one which was neither old nor young, of yellow colour, which had never ploughed or drawn water, whose neck had borne no yoke, who had not pastured in an impure place, and who had from her birth till this day never been harrassed with any toilsome work. After much trouble the sons of Esrâil found a cow endowed with the required characteristics. As the owner of the animal was a poor devout youth who made his livelihood by gathering wood, the people imagined that on account of his necessities and indigent condition, he would part with the cow for a small price. They pressed him to sell it, drove up the price from three dirhems to one thousand, and then to a hundred thousand; lastly they agreed to fill the hide of the cow with pure gold. Mûsa then reproved the people, and said: Because you are so anxious in all matters, they become difficult. Now, make haste to purchase the cow for the price you have settled, or else you will have to give an account of this discord on the day of the resurrection.' Then the children of Esrâil paid the price, slaughtered the cow, struck the corpse of A'amil with a piece of the flesh, whereon it revived and sat up straight.

[317] This is narrated also in ch. ii of the Qurân, entitled *The Cow*.

Mûsa then asked: 'Who has slain thee?' He replied 'My nephews.' Therefore his lordship the speaker [with Allah] got the murderers executed, and that very moment A'amil again expired. The Jews assert that the cow was burnt, and her ashes given to the descendants of Harûn—who became leaders of the people—that they might on any future occasion, when an event like the one just mentioned occurred, take some of the ashes, and by throwing them on the person murdered, ascertain who had perpetrated the deed; and this miracle continued for a long time to be repeated among the children of Esrâil.

RECORD OF THE REMOVAL OF THE CHILDREN OF ESRÂIL FROM THE DESERT OF SIN TO FÂRÂN. EXPLANATION OF THE STORY OF QÂRÛN, HIS TERRIBLE PUNISHMENT, AND OTHER EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED AT THAT TIME.

It is related in the histories of the Jews, that the Lord Most High had ordained them to keep the feast of the Passover on Wednesday the 4th of the month Nisân, which was the second year of the exodus of the children of Esrâil. In the beginning of the month Adâr, the command to take the census of the males able to bear arms was issued for the second time, and to register their names in books. The Lord Musa acted according to these instructions, and found the number of warriors who had passed the twentieth, but had not yet reached the fiftieth year, to amount to six hundred and three thousand, five hundred and fifty men. After he had completed this enumeration, the cloud which cast its shadow over the hosts of Esrâil was observed to move from the desert of Sin towards that of Fârân, and as all the movements and stoppages of the children of Esrâil were regulated by the cloud, they prepared and put themselves in motion, but as the cloud became stationary in the desert of Fârân, the Jews likewise halted. The Jews imagine that the prophet Shoa'ib—u. w. b., etc —arrived on that occasion from Madian to pay a visit to the Lord Mûsa in the desert of Fârân, and that they were rejoiced at meeting each other. It is said that

Mûsa displayed much hospitality, whereof Harûn likewise partook with the grandees of the children of Esrâil, but he himself abstained, which circumstance greatly distressed Shoa'ib. Mûsa, however, made his appearance after the completion of the banquet, spread out the carpet of excuses, and said: 'The affairs and necessities of the people have hindered me from coming, and as all the business concerning the nation devolves upon myself alone, I feel harassed.' Shoa'ib accepted his excuses, and advised Mûsa to entrust the government of each tribe to a man distinguished by experience, discernment and foresight,[318] to give to each of them full power in all matters, but to retain the affairs of the army and of wars in his own hands. Mûsa accordingly selected twelve individuals, with the approbation of Shoa'ib, investing them with magisterial and gubernatorial dignity over each tribe. The names of those chiefs are mentioned in the [book entitled] 'A'râis.'

One of the important events which took place about this time was the disappearance of the cloud, that happened in the following manner: When the children of Esrâil stayed in the desert of Fârân, Mariam and Harûn were, in the absence of Mûsa, conversing with each other, asserting their dignity to be equal to his; they also imputed to him something of which his essence was innocent. Therefore a voice was heard the next morning from that cloud as follows: 'O children of Esrâil, although you have been the subjects of My grace and pardon, nevertheless, Mûsa alone has reached the dignity of becoming My chosen servant. How can you, therefore, compare yourselves to him, since that which has been granted to him has not been vouchsafed to any other prophet, and all revelations have been addressed to the other prophets by the intervention of angels, through inspirations or visions: he, however, has attained personal conversation [with Me]. Why do you, therefore, not take care of yourselves? and why do you transgress your bounds?' At that very moment the cloud disappeared from above their heads, and when the allocu-

[318] Conf. Exod., ch. xviii. 21

tion had ceased the heat of the atmosphere became very intense. Harûn then repented, craved pardon, and, going to Mûsa, apologized, interceded for his sister Mariam that her sin be forgiven, and that the distemper of leprosy, which had broken out on her body for slandering Mûsa, might be removed by the prayer of the latter. Mûsa accepted the excuse and pardoned his brother; he also turned his face towards the Qiblah of petition for the sake of Mariam's leprosy. Then the allocution arrived that Mariam would be cured after the expiration of seven days, which actually happened; on the appointed day she recovered her health,[319] and the children of Esrâil became firmly convinced of the high dignity of Mûsa.

Another great event was the punishment of Qârûn [Korah], who was in the Hebrew language named Qârûj. According to one tradition he was the son of Mûsa's uncle, according to another, his uncle, and according to a third, the son of his sister. Making, however, allowance for the variety of traditions, it is said that after Mûsa and Harûn, the most wise, intelligent and virtuous among the children of Esrâil was Qârûn. His countenance was so beauteous that it had been surnamed 'lit up,' and he was constantly engaged in reading the Mosaic Law. The Lord Mûsa was very anxious to give him a good education before instructing him in strange knowledge and wonderful sciences, one of which was alchemy, that was unknown to anyone before the time of Mûsa. Qârûn learnt this science from him and cultivated it with ardour, so that in course of time he amassed riches to such an extent that forty mules were required for the purpose of carrying the keys of his treasure-boxes. Mûsa exhorted him often to bestow alms upon the poor, and told him to disburse one dinâr in a thousand for this purpose. Qârûn, however, felt grieved at this proposal, began to quarrel with Mûsa, and refused to obey his injunctions. he ceased to follow him, and associated with the nefarious and the rebellious. He erected a lofty palace, the walls of which he laid in with

[319] Num., ch. xii.

sheets of pure gold; he constructed portals of gold, erected a throne encrusted with precious stones, and took the utmost pains to embellish it. Whenever he rode out he was followed by a retinue of one thousand men of the children of Esrâil who were his relatives and adherents. He had three hundred luna-faced maidens, who exhaled ambergris, were dressed in costly garments decorated with jewels, and diadems inlaid with gems, to attend at his stirrups. When he returned home, tables with food were produced and banquets prepared, in which he regaled the children of Esrâil, joked and laughed with them. The people who shared in his entertainments said: 'Oh that we had the like [wealth] as hath been given unto Qârûn! Verily he is a master of great fortune.'[320] It is related that before Mûsa had invited him to give alms he had once paid him a visit, and said: 'O Mûsa, thou art an inspired messenger; thy brother is a governor and magistrate, and I enjoy none of these dignities; as I am, however, far more opulent in worldly goods than yourselves, I can no longer bear this humility and mean condition. If, therefore, you do not appoint me to some important office, I shall begin discord, and shall forcibly take away from Harûn the governorship of the holy house, and the ark of the testimony.' Mûsa replied: 'O Qârûn, be civil, know thy own station, be grateful for what Allah has vouchsafed thee, seek not to obtain a higher dignity than that which thou possessest, and do not distress thy mind by endeavouring to obtain everything, for the blessing to be a prophet is a gift of God, and so is the guardianship over the ark of the testimony, to which Harun was appointed not by me but by God, and whoever shall attempt to injure Harûn or his children will undoubtedly be overtaken by a speedy chastisement and deadly punishment.' These words rankled in Qârûn's bosom, and when Mûsa invited him to bestow alms, he manifested enmity, turned to the ignorant among the children of Esrâil, and addressed them in the following strain: 'As you are obeying Mûsa in all things, and he is

[320] Qurân, ch. xxviii. 79.

your commander, [I inform you that] it is now his intention to deprive you of your possessions, on the pretext of disbursing them as alms; by this proceeding he will impoverish you, and enrich himself alone. Why have you become silent, and do not answer him?' The people answered: 'At present thou art the chief individual of the nation; tell him what seemeth good unto thee in this matter, and arrange it with Mûsa as thou art best able, because we, with all our followers, shall obey thy commandments.' Qârûn then consulted with his intimate friends about the resistance to be offered to Mûsa. At last he brought a notoriously lascivious and adulterous woman to his house, gave her a plate full of gold and precious stones, made her promises [of more], and induced her to appear in the assembly of the children of Esrâil, when they were all congregated listening to the exhortations of Mûsa, and to accuse the latter of having committed adultery with her, so that by her efforts the children of Esrâil might impute to him the crime of lasciviousness, and might condemn him according to the requirements of the Mosaic Law. It is said that the Lord Mûsa preached to the people once every week. When the time agreed upon for the accusation had arrived, and the people assembled, Qârûn entered the congregation with the utmost pomp and circumstance, took his seat opposite to Mûsa and began to scoff at him. The said impudent woman also made her appearance in the assembly, and took up her position in a corner. When the waves of the sea of the mysteries of Mûsa's luminous mind began to get stormy, and his hearers had become excited, she arose with the intention of uttering the preconcerted falsehood to soil the skirts of Mûsa's prophetic dignity with the mire of slander; God, however—whose name be exalted and hallowed—changed her mind, so that she exclaimed: 'O children of Esrâil, know ye that Qârûn, the foe of Mûsa, yesterday took me to his house, and gave to me a plate full of gold and precious stones, telling me to devise a lie against Mûsa, and publicly to bear witness in this assembly of his having committed adultery

with me; he also promised to rescue me from the hands of the children of Esrâil, and to bring about the lapidation of Mûsa. Now I testify that Mûsa is the prophet of God, and that whatever he does or commands is according to divine inspiration. His religion is true. I repent of every sin I have committed, and bear witness that there is no God but Allah, and I bear witness that Mûsa is the speaker with Allah.'

The children of Esrâil, who had listened to all this [declaration], now lengthened the tongue of reprobation towards Qârûn. Mûsa, being displeased with the stratagem of Qârûn, became angry, immediately descended from the pulpit, prostrated himself upon the ground, and said: 'My God, Thine enemy harboured the intention of injuring me, and intended to put me to shame. If I am a prophet, vouchsafe to manifest Thy displeasure towards him, and Thy favour towards me in the sight of the people!' On that occasion Jebrâil descended, and said: 'Lift up thy head, because the Divine Majesty has responded to thy prayer, and has subjected the earth to thine orders, and it will do as thou listest.' The Lord Mûsa was pleased with this information, and said to the children of Esrâil: 'The Most High did empower me to overcome Fara'ûn and Qârûn likewise. Therefore let every one remain who adheres to him, and let every one depart who adheres to me.' The people of Esrâil, having been warned by these words of Mûsa, abandoned Qârûn, two men only excepted, who had been his associates at all times and in all matters. Then Mûsa addressed the earth, saying: 'O earth, take him!' Hereupon Qârûn sank into the ground as far as his ankles; he nevertheless laughed, and said: 'O Mûsa, what sorcery is this which thou art again performing?' Mûsa repeated the exclamation: 'O earth, take him!' Then he sank into it as far as his knees, and now became frightened, but all his supplications were of no avail. It is related that Mûsa had thus ordered the earth as many as seventy times to swallow Qârûn, who begged to be respited, but in

vain.[321] When the earth had devoured Qârûn, and Mûsa was engaged in thanksgivings, the following allocution of God reached him: 'O Mûsa, how many times did Qârûn supplicate thee and was disappointed?' Mûsa replied: 'I expected he would invoke Thee!' Then the revelation came: 'If he had even once fled for refuge to Me, I would not have subjected him to thy power. Hereafter, I shall not cause the earth to obey anyone until the day of the resurrection.'

After Qârûn had sunk into the earth, the envious and the wicked among the children of Esrâil said: 'Mûsa coveted the goods and possessions of Qârûn; therefore he showed him no mercy.' When Mûsa heard of these imputations, he prayed that God—w. n. b. e.—would command the earth to swallow the palace, the furniture, wardrobe, cattle, vessels, with every kind of goods and chattels belonging to Qârûn; wherefore [not only these but even] the property and capitals entrusted by him to merchants in various parts of the world, likewise disappeared in some way or other, and were lost. The learned inform us, that on the said occasion fourteen thousand and seven hundred individuals of the chiefs and prominent persons among the children of Esrâil perished. God—w. n. b. e.—has said: 'We caused the ground to cleave asunder and to swallow up him and his palace, and he had no forces to defend him besides Allah; neither was he rescued [from punishment].'[322]

Verses: Who has no rivers of gold to flow from him
May aspire to the felicity of content;
See what worldly treasures Qârûn had—
Treasure cannot remove the troubles of this world.

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[321] Num., ch. xvi. [322] Qurân, ch. xxviii. 81.

Record of the Removal of the Children of Esrâil from the Desert of Fârân and going to that of Fârish. The Combat of Mûsa with the Giants of Syria, and the Misfortune of the Children of Esrâil in Wandering about, and the Events that happened in those Times.

The author of the 'Zubdat-ut-tovârikh' relates, that after Mûsa and the children of Esrâil had remained seventy-nine days in the desert of Fârân, orders were issued on the 9th of the month Ab to get the army ready to march to Syria, to deliver the Holy Land from the hands of the giants and A'mâlekites, and to take possession of it without entertaining any apprehensions on account of the great statures, strong bodies and valour of the tyrants, because divine guardianship and celestial victory would aid the professors of monotheism. Mûsa made, according to divine inspiration, all the preparations necessary for attacking the A'mâlekites, after the completion whereof he marched with the army and the people of Esrâil to the country of the oppressors, to deliver the Holy Land from whose grasp was his uppermost and paramount thought. There is, however, a variety of opinions among theologians about the meaning of the expression 'Holy Land.' Some assert that it is the 'Holy House' [*i.e.* the city of Jerusalem] and Ailiat, whilst others allege it to be the country around Mount Sinai. Others, again, state that it points to Filisteen and to the vicinity of Ardan [the river Jordan]; but some call the whole of Syria the Holy Land.

After taking notice of the above differences in the traditions, it is related that when the Esrâilites arrived in the vicinity of the country of that nation [*i.e.* of the A'mâlekites], they halted in the desert of Fârish. Mûsa ordered the twelve individuals, whom he had [by the advice of Shoa'ib on a previous occasion] appointed to be the chieftains of the people, to depart for the purpose of examining the ways of the A'mâlekites, and to return after

having obtained cognizance of their positions. They accordingly went to that country, and when they reached the capital of the oppressors, the most current tradition informs us that they met A'vuj, the son of A'naq, who was distinguished by the strength and corpulency of his body. But as the tyrants had previously obtained information that people would arrive to wage war against them, A'naq immediately seized the twelve chiefs, and placing them in his sleeve according to one tradition, or throwing them into the skirts of his garment, according to another, he proceeded to the king, in whose presence he dropped them upon the ground, saying. 'O king, these men belong to the army which has come to attack us. It is said that the stature of each of the just-mentioned chiefs was not less than ten cubits in height, and from five to six in breadth, but by the side of those A'adites[323] they appeared smaller than sparrows. After the chiefs had found their way back to the sons of Esrâil, either by flight or by stratagem, they agreed, whilst on the road, not to reveal to anyone, except to Mûsa and to Harûn, what they had seen of the terrible and gigantic bodies of those tyrants, lest the children of Esrâil who were weak in body and mind, and possessed no spirit of enterprise, might, on being informed about their enemies, refuse to wage war against them, and thereby subject themselves to misfortunes. When, however, the chiefs had returned to the camp, ten of them broke their promise and told the people of Esrâil all about the innate bravery and strength of body of the A'adites, and only two of the chiefs, namely Kalûb, the son of Yofunna, and Yoshua', the son of Nûn, kept the secret. The army of Mûsa having thus been informed about the A'mâlekites, refused to fight them, despite all the entreaties, flatteries and promises of victory with which Mûsa and Harûn plied them; neither could the persuasions of Yoshua' and Kalûb, who extolled Syria, and assured them that the giants might be easily conquered, make any

[323] Our author here calls the A'mâlekites A'adites, because they were giants like them.

impression upon them. The children of Esrâil said: 'God forbid that we should ever enter that region, the inhabitants whereof we would be unable to combat!' To Mûsa they said: 'If thou desirest to possess and to govern that country, go thou and thy Lord and combat them ye both; we shall remain here.' The wrath of Mûsa being incensed against the rebellious people he bowed down his head in prayer, and said: 'O Lord, I have no power over anyone except over myself and my brother; therefore separate us from this wicked nation.' Yoshua' and Kalûb were likewise utterly distressed by the folly and obstinacy of the people. They tore their garments, bent their heads in adoration and complained to the Lord of Magnificence. Then all of a sudden a cloud appeared in the atmosphere, from which they heard the following words: 'O Mûsa, how long will the children of Esrâil be rebellious, and how long will they deny My evident signs? Do they not know that I am able to annihilate them in less than the twinkling of an eye, and that I may create for thee another and a greater multitude?' Mûsa continued: 'O Lord, if Thou wilt in the height of Thine anger, and in the culmination of Thy revenge, destroy this nation, Thy kingdom will suffer no diminution; but any nation that will hereafter hear of the extirpation and annihilation of this people, will attribute their chastisement to the consequences of my supplications.'

It is said that after Mûsa had failed to induce his people to wage war, the Almighty intended to destroy them, but Mûsa said: 'O Lord, Thy long-suffering is great, Thy bounty is abundant, and Thou art forgiving; pardon them, therefore, and destroy them not suddenly.' Then the allocution again came: 'O Mûsa, I have complied with thy request, and have pardoned their transgression for thy sake; but as thou hast called them "wicked," I swear by My glory and majesty, that I shall, with the exception of My chosen servants, namely thyself, thy brother Harûn and Yoshua', cause all the sons of Esrâil to go astray, and to wander about in despair and awe in this desert. I shall

cause the wailings and the lamentations they utter to become an ordinance among them, that they and their children may every year bemoan the sudden deaths of these people; and I shall, after causing them to spend a miserable life, scatter their bones in this same desert.' After the termination of this speech the members of the bodies of the ten men who had divulged the information about the A'mâlekites in the camp separated from each other; their corpses melted, and flowed away like water. But the children of Esrâil remained in that desert subject to a migratory existence, in which they lost everything they possessed, and finally their very lives also.

Mûsa, Harûn, and Yoshua', the son of Nûn, went to the country of the A'mâlekites, but the children of Esrâil returned in the direction of Egypt. They started in the morning, and incessantly marched till sunset, but on looking well round they found themselves in the place from which they had departed. On the second day they attempted to overtake Mûsa, with the intention of propitiating his exalted nature by means of flatteries and apologies, and of conquering the land of the A'mâlekites with his co-operation; but all their efforts were frustrated, and they discovered in the evening that they had again returned to the same place, and continued to roam about in the desert. It is said that the wanderings of the children of Esrâil were confined to the country about Filisteen, the Ardan, and Egypt, the extent of which did not exceed twelve, and according to another tradition fifty-six, Farsakhs in length.

When Mûsa and his companions entered the country of the Amâlekites, the first man whom they met was A'vuj, the son of A'naq; but on coming up with him Mûsa began to leap, and struck him with his staff on the ankle, so that he fell to the ground, and surrendered his life to the owner of hell. After killing A'vuj Mûsa hastened with his friends towards the children of Esrâil, and finding them in their accustomed place, he said: 'O people I went, and the Lord Almighty—w. n. b. e.—has

granted me His aid, and has bestowed upon me force enough to slay a man, the like of whom in tallness of stature and strength of body did not exist on God's earth. Had I continued, I might have vanquished the whole land; but I did not wish to enter that country without you. Be of good cheer. Let us depart and occupy Syria.' The sons of Esrâil then explained to Mûsa their circumstances and wanderings, whereby he was grieved, but at the same time awed, at the speedy fulfilment of the threat of the Lord Almighty; he also bemoaned the helplessness of the people. Then the allocution was heard: 'Despair not of the wicked people.' As they had spent all their provisions in that desert, and had nothing in store, they informed his lordship. Thereon Mûsa prayed, and the Lord Most High produced manna,[324] or something like it, on the brambles of that region, which they plucked from them and consumed. He likewise granted to them birds like partridges,[325] that sat down near them, and anyone who liked took, roasted, and ate them; and this species of bird exists till this day in that desert. When they were overpowered by thirst they asked Mûsa for water, and by divine inspiration he placed a stone which he always carried about with him on the gate of the Holy House; and after having assembled the elders, with the chiefs of the children of Esrâil, he prayed, and struck the stone with his staff, whereon twelve fountains gushed forth therefrom, according to the number of the tribes, each of which then made use of one. The Jews called this rock 'the big stone'; they imagined that it was very large, and conveyed it from place to place on quadrupeds. It is also said that whenever they departed the water ceased to flow, and that every time they halted the stone was set up near the gate of the Holy House, whereon the water again bubbled forth, and the governors of the tribes caused twelve large brooks to flow into their habitations. In this manner they spent their lives in difficulties, and travelled every day two

324 Exod., ch. xvi. 14. 325 *Ibid.*, 13.

Farsakhs in that desert. Mûsa nevertheless exhorted them to gratitude towards the Almighty.

He distich: Because many toils are better than the toil [of eternal perdition]

The time of the Esrâilites passed as just narrated, until some of them had one day, contrary to the divine command, collected more than one day's provision of manna and of quails, although Mûsa had warned them that they would thereby incur the wrath of God. They, however, paid no attention, but gathered a quantity sufficient for a whole month and more. On account of this disobedience they became subject to the wrath of the Lord God, who thereon cut them off from all the favours of His bounty. When their flames of hunger were kindled by the absence of food, they waited on Mûsa, spread out the surface of apologies before him, and began to supplicate him. By reason of his meek and kind disposition he accepted their excuses, and prayed to the Almighty, so that the portals of His bounty were again opened to the people as before. On that occasion Mûsa fixed a measure, which was called 'marzabân' [*sic*], and ordered that more than one of these ought not to be taken daily by anyone, except on Friday, when they were allowed to make provision for the Sabbath likewise. He also commanded the people to make their collection in the morning; whoever failed to do so lost his portion for that day, and any person collecting more than one marzabân lost it by its becoming impregnated with a bad smell. When, on another occasion, the people complained about their nakedness, and about that of their families, Mûsa prayed, and the command arrived that they should wash their garments in the fountains gushing from the stone, that they might again become new; and when they turned greasy and soiled, they were to be thrown into fire, that they might again recover their purity and whiteness. After that, by the decree of the Eternal Will, every infant was born with garments, which became larger in proportion as the child grew, and fitted the body in length and

breadth. They lived in this way for some time, but finally went to Mûsa and said: 'For a long period of time our food has consisted of manna and quails. We cannot subsist on these for ever. We require onions greens and vegetables, and terrestrial food; pray that we may obtain some of it, and be gladdened thereby.' Mûsa, being displeased by this demand, said, by way of reproach: 'Do you wish to exchange that which is good for that which is worse? Get ye down into Egypt, and you will obtain what you ask.'[326] Alas for the foolish people who prefer terrestrial vegetables to the heavenly table, and who prefer corporeal food to a celestial banquet! Mûsa and Harûn, astonished at the folly of the children of Esrâil, and at the hardness of their hearts, meditated to go away and to leave those fools to their own fate; but as patience and endurance are incumbent upon prophets, they paid no attention to these dismal insinuations of the people, took hold of the handle of patience and confidence, and waited for the command of God. A short time afterwards the Omnipotent Avenger, whose majesty is exalted, sent despair, poverty, and misery upon the children of Esrâil, and their affliction increased day by day; so that, after the completion of forty lunar years which they spent in the desert of Fârish, all the men between the ages of twenty and fifty years died, not one of them surviving except Yoshua' and Kalûb. It is related that as many of the children of Esrâil as perished during the above period, so many were also born; so that on ceasing their wanderings, and when the census of the hosts of Esrâil was taken, the number was found precisely the same as when they entered the desert. This took place by the power of the Beneficent Sovereign.

Record of Mûsa's going to meet Khizer.

As the Divine Majesty had granted infinite benefits to Mûsa, increased his high dignity and exalted station, he was in the habit of daily offering praises and thanksgivings

[326] Qurân, ch. ii. 58.

in the congregation; and when he preached to the people, renewed laudations and gratitude for the blessings received emanated from his lips:

Verses: How could I fitly praise the Friend?
No gratitude of mine could suffice.
Every hair is a gift from Him.
How could I thank Him for each hair?

In one of the usual meetings a man arose on a certain occasion, who spoke thus: 'O prophet of Allah, what thou hast said we have understood, and we consider it a religious duty to be always grateful for the benefits received from the Lord of Unity. We also acknowledge thee to be a prophet and inspired messenger; but tell us whether on the surface of the earth the Lord of Self-existence has a wiser servant than thee?' Mûsa replied: 'My opinion is that at present God has on the face of the earth no servant more excellent or more wise than myself, because He has exalted me above the highest degrees of virtue and knowledge, has vouchsafed me the felicity of conversing with His Divine Majesty, and has invested me with the robe of being one of the elect and of the favoured. A servant distinguished by such gifts ought undoubtedly to be the most wise and the most virtuous of the inhabitants of the world.' Subsequently to these words Jebrâil descended and brought the following allocution of reproof: 'O Mûsa, knowest thou where we have deposited our knowledge, and how much of this unfathomable ocean we have bestowed upon everyone? Behold, I have a servant wiser than thee. If thou wilt endeavour to meet him, and enter into the sea of his knowledge, thy former supposition will prove to have been erroneous, and it will appear plainly that thy pretensions are akin to folly.' Mûsa acknowledged the truth of these words, and implored the Lord Omniscient to reveal to him the abode of that exalted servant, as he desired to go in search of him. Thereon the allocution arrived: 'The habitation of that servant is at the meeting of the two seas, and if thou lookest with a discerning eye, which, like the mind, penetrates into all places, thou wilt find him.' Mûsa

asked: 'O God, who will convey me to that place, and who will be my guide on the road?' The reply came: 'Thy food will show thee the way.' Accordingly Mûsa and Harûn started towards the meeting of the seas, taking with them a few salted and roasted fishes and bread. They travelled three days, and arrived near a fountain in the vicinity of the meeting of the seas, where they took rest for awhile, and deposited their basket on a stone, but forgot to take it when they started again. They then walked along the sea-shore, when, by the effects of the virtue of Khizer, a fish was at that moment brought back to life, worked itself out of the basket and jumped into the sea. After Mûsa had travelled for awhile he became hungry, and said to Yoshua': 'Produce the food, that we may eat.' The latter replied: 'Yesterday evening we halted near a rock, and no one caused me to forget and leave it there but Satan. Hast thou seen? *When we took up our lodging at the rock, verily I forgot the fish, and none made me forget it except Satan.'*[327] Mûsa, being satisfied with the excuse of Yoshua', said. 'It is of no consequence, we will return to the same place.' They did so, and beheld near the fountain Khizer engaged in adoration. When he had terminated his orisons, he questioned Mûsa, who replied: 'The object of our journey was to become ennobled by meeting thine exalted person, to regenerate and to refresh the meadow of our expectations by the showers of the fountain-head of thy knowledge, and to see the rosebuds of our hopes opening and smiling from the breeze of thy regard. My Lord has sent me to follow thee and to learn some of thy science, therefore command, and deal with us as thou listest.'

Verses: The basis of their intercourse being laid,
Mûsa took Khizer to be his master;
As it is impossible to travel without a guide,
Therefore a Jebrâil to the prophet came.

Khizer answered: 'Thy request is granted, but it will be a hard matter to accompany me, because I act according to

[327] Qurân, ch. xviii. 62.

hidden knowledge, the visible effects of which are often evil, but the consequences beneficent and salutary. As thou hast not patience to wait for the truth and propriety of my acts to appear, thou wilt disapprove of them and blame me For this reason the knot of our amity will be dissolved, and the path of our association will remain obstructed.' Mûsa replied 'Thou shalt find me patient if Allah pleaseth; neither will I be disobedient unto thee in anything.'[328] Khizer continued. 'If thou followest me, ask me not about anything until I myself mention it.' After that Khizer and Mûsa went to the sea and entered a ship, Yoshua' having —according to the general opinion of authors—departed by the permission of Mûsa, and again joined his people. On this occasion Khizer removed secretly two or three planks of the ship, threw them into the sea, and exclaimed: 'O people, make haste to repair the ship or you will all perish" The men quickly produced a carpenter, who nailed on various pieces of wood and mended the vessel, but it nevertheless looked faulty, and the owners were distressed. Mûsa, who had seen everything, said to Khizer 'What use is there in endangering the lives of so many persons, and of perforating so strong a ship?' Khizer replied 'Did not I tell thee that thou couldst not bear with me?'[329] Mûsa then revoked the words he had uttered, and attributed them to his obliviousness. When they disembarked they entered a town, and roaming about therein they met a company of children Khizer picked out one from among them, who was distinguished by the gracefulness of his features, took hold of him, and laying him down, he separated with a knife his head from the body. Mûsa again opened the mouth of reproach and inquisitiveness, saying· 'How does the taking of a pure life, as yet unsoiled by corporeal desires and lascivious passions, and as yet innocent of any act deserving capital punishment, appear to the eyes of wisdom? According to the requirements of what law can this act be justified?' Khizer again replied: 'Have I not told thee that thou couldst not bear with

[328] Qurân, ch xviii 68 [329] *Ibid.*, 71.

me?'[330] Mûsa again spread out the carpet of apologies, and promised henceforth no more to question the propriety of similar deeds, because by doing so he would be compelled to submit to separation. Then they again continued their journey, and on a certain night, when cold had overpowered them, they arrived, according to the statement of Ebn A'bbâs, in the town of Antakia [Antiochia], the inhabitants whereof refused either to refresh them with food, or to entertain them. Therefore Khizer turned away from them and sought shelter with Mûsa under an enclosure, the wall of which looked like falling Khizer, however made haste to repair it so that it became straight [or safe] again Theologians differ about the manner in which the wall was repaired, some assert that Khizer so rubbed it with his hands, that it immediately recovered its former consistency, others again state that he removed its foundations and substituted new ones At any rate, Mûsa said 'As the inhabitants of this region have refused us hospitality, they ought to be made to pay the wages for the work, by means of which we might extinguish the flames of hunger.' Khizer replied: 'This shall be a separation between thee and me.[331] Prepare to leave me, and expect my company no longer, hearken, however, for one moment, and glean some information about the justice of my mysterious acts I disabled the vessel, because it would have passed near the country of a tyrannical oppressor who is according to some called Mandhar, and according to others Halanda, or Badoin Every sound ship that reaches him falls a prey to his violence, and the owners of it are turned away by him without obtaining any recompense for it. Accordingly I injured the ship that it may remain the property of those poor men, and that no one might take it from them.' It is also related that the livelihood of those ten indigent men depended on the ship. Khizer continued 'The boy was slain by me, because his parents, both of whom are professors of monotheism, have never seen him do any other but infidel, sinful, wicked and rebellious acts. Therefore I

[330] Qurân, ch xviii 74 [331] *Ibid.*, 77

feared that his progenitors might suffer fom the effects of his malicious and criminal disposition, and might be captured in the meshes of the wicked. I wished that the Boundless Granter would bestow upon them a pious child instead of a wicked one.' The Emâm Ja'fer Sâdiq—u. w. b., etc —relates that after the murder and destruction of the said boy the Almighty—w. n. b. e.—presented the bereaved parents with a daughter in lieu of him, who became the mother and ancestress of seventy prophets. The utility of repairing the wall consisted in its being the property of two orphan boys, whose names were Haram and Harim Their father, a pious and devout man, was named Kashah; he had under this wall deposited a treasure for his sons, of which they would have been deprived if the wall had fallen, because in that case others would have discovered the treasure Accordingly Khizer had, by divine inspiration, repaired it to last until the orphans attained the age of maturity, and could take possession of it. The principal historians inform us that, according to the cubits of that country, the said wall was two hundred cubits high, five hundred long, and fifty broad. There is, however, a variety of opinions concerning the treasure. some say it meant a book containing various sciences, others allege that it was a box full of silver and gold Abu Muhammad Ja'fer Sadiq states that it was a tablet of pure gold containing the following words [engraved thereon]: 'I am astonished that he who is certain of fate should grieve. I am astonished that he who is certain of subsistence should toil. I am astonished that he who is certain of death should rejoice. I am astonished that he who is certain of [being obliged to render] an account should be careless. I am astonished that he who knows the world and its changes should be happy therein. There is no God but Allah, and Muhammad is His prophet!' In some histories it is recorded that on the reverse of the said tablet the following words occurred: 'I am Allah, there is no God besides Me. I am one, and have no partner. I have created good and evil, and blessed is he whom I have

created for good, and have made it flow from his hands; but woe to him whom I have created for evil, and have made it flow from his hands.'

It is narrated after A'li, the refuge of dominion, that when the time arrived for Mûsa and Khizer to take leave of each other, the speaker [with Allah] besought the latter to give him advice; whereon Khizer spoke as follows: 'O son of E'mrân, I recommend thee to be profitable and not to be detrimental. Leave off squabbling, and care only for needful things. Laugh not without being astonished. Rejoice not over the failings of sinners, for thou hast thine also. Do not put off the business of to-day till to-morrow.' After Khizer had finished his exhortation he took leave of Mûsa and returned. It is said that the time they had been together amounted to eighteen days. It is related after his lordship, the seal of prophecy [*i.e.* Muhammad], that if Mûsa had been bound by the conditions he agreed upon with Khizer, and if he had not broken them, he would certainly have learnt some wonderful and divine mysteries, and would have obtained much information about strange and infinite matters, and the Lord of Magnificence—w. n. b. pr.—would have instructed him about them all. His highness, the axis of divines, Shekh Mahi-ud-din—may his secret be hallowed—has related in the 'Fatûhât' as follows: 'I have accompanied Khizer in some deserts, and incidentally our conversation turned upon his connection with Mûsa, when I made due inquiries on that subject, and he said: "I had prepared one thousand queries for Mûsa, but as he had not patience even for three,[332] I abstained from bringing forth any more problems, and consequently ceased to associate with him."'

There is a difference of opinion among the principal chroniclers whether the meeting of Mûsa and Khizer—u. w. b., etc.—took place before or after the wanderings of the children of Esrâil. The most correct opinion, however, is that it happened whilst they were afflicted by the calamity

[332] *Namely, the affair of the ship, the murder, and the wall, as narrated above.*

of their migrations; let it, however, not remain unknown that Mûsa, Harûn, Yoshua' and Kalûb were not subjected to the misfortunes of wandering.

Record of Harûn's Decease.

It is related in most histories that Harûn departed this life in the thirtieth year of the calamity of the migrations. In several works it is narrated that he died in the beginning of the month Ab, the fifth month of the fortieth year of the said calamity. Mûsa was apprised by divine revelation of the approach of Harûn's death and of the locality where it would take place. On that occasion Mûsa and Harûn, or, according to another tradition, also Shabir and Shabar, the sons of the latter, started to Mount Shovik. During the journey, however, they arrived at a place the atmosphere whereof was perfumed and fragrant like ambergris. They perceived a neat house, and a high couch overshadowed by exquisite and lofty trees; among the latter they perceived a wonderful one, the like of which the world did not contain. Harûn was so pleased with this spectacle that he expressed a wish to repose for an hour on the couch, but he was afraid lest the owner of the house might come forward and become angry at his intrusion. Mûsa, however, said: 'Do thou enjoy thy wish, and, if need be, I shall excuse thee to the master of the place.' Harûn continued: 'Brother, I am depressed in spirit, keep me company, and, if the owner of this park makes his appearance, both of us will bear his wrath.' At his request Mûsa reclined with his head upon the couch, but as soon as Harûn laid himself down, his predestined fate overtook him, and his pure spirit departed to the regions of holiness. When Mûsa prepared himself to perform the funeral ceremonies, the park with its couch and house suddenly disappeared; therefore he returned to the people and explained to them what had happened. The children of Esrâil said: 'Thou hast envied Harûn because we loved him more than thee, and hast, therefore, murdered him.'

His lordship the speaker [with God] prayed, the couch with the body of Harûn appeared in the midst of the people, and the corpse said: 'Mûsa is free of that which you impute to him.' Thereupon the children of Esrâil drew the tongue of reproof back into their palates, and having appointed Elghâzâr, the son of Harûn, to be his successor, they went to the place where the park and couch had disappeared, and erected there an edifice which they completed. According to another tradition the Lord [God] delivered the children of Esrâil, after the expiration of forty years, from their migrations, and made them conquer Syria. The general opinion is that the death of the Lord Harûn took place in the thirty-third year of the wanderings of the children of Esrâil in the desert.

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